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GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.

ROMANO-BRITISH REMAINS: PART II.

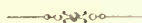
LONDON:
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.
1887.

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PREFACE.



A VERY few words are needed to introduce the second part of this volume to the reader. It forms the concluding part of Romano-British Remains, and thus ends that section of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library* which deals with the early archæology of this country.

In the introduction to Part I. I said all that was necessary about the general question of Roman influences in Britain, and pointed out how the collections from the *Gentleman's Magazine* helped us to realize some of the suggestions put forward. The present part concludes the records of local discoveries in England, and supplies the records of local discoveries in Wales and Scotland. It is generally considered that the Romans never went over into Ireland, or, at all events, did not stay there and colonize; on this subject there is a paper by W. Pinkerton in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., pp. 32-36, and Mr. Thomas Wright contributed to the *Journal of the Ethnological Society* a paper in which all that is to be said has been carefully summed up, and it does not appear that any discoveries of great importance have ever been recorded.

Two new sections are introduced in this part, viz., "Roman Roads and Stations" and "Historical Notes." Much unprofitable discussion has taken place as to the sites of particular stations, and I have found it necessary to omit many communications made to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Those that are printed are not all presented to the reader for their value in determining the subject with which they ostensibly deal. But it was found upon examination that the writers of these papers, in prosecuting researches for their par-

ticular theories, very often bring forward the results of *local* discoveries made by themselves. Such information is very valuable, because it often happens that it is to be found nowhere else than in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. I am tempted to quote one testimony to the importance of these contemporary accounts of local finds, namely, in the last volume of *Archæologia* (vol. li., p. 274), where Mr. Hilton Price, in describing the baths at Silchester, quotes the account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1833, reprinted on pages 114-115, and concludes with the remark, "These contemporaneous descriptions of earlier excavations are extremely valuable and interesting." We must often, then, tolerate the perusal of a theory we cannot subscribe to on account of the information given by its propounder on discoveries made on the spot. This necessary criticism and warning, however, does not mean that the theories of the writers in the *Gentleman's Magazine* are entitled to no weight. On the contrary, many of those advocated in the following pages are sound, and acceptable to modern inquirers. The greatest blot upon most of the communications is, of course, the authority given to the forged itinerary of Richard of Cirencester. Until the worthlessness of this document had been exposed, previous writers gave to it a weight which it by no means deserves. Still, this does not always invalidate the argument used or the conclusions arrived at, because the evidence of a forgery is sometimes important in determining opinions which existed at the date of its compilation, and which were based upon evidence now no longer existing. Readers who may wish to consult a good summary of the proofs of this forgery will find one in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1866, part i., pp. 301-308, 618-624; part ii., pp. 456-466.

It is certainly remarkable that while so much literature has been created dealing with the subject of the Roman occupation of this country, so few results should have been obtained that are entirely satisfactory in establishing the sites of many of the stations and the direction of many of the roads. Surely the difficulties presented by such a subject again clearly point to the almost complete eradication of Roman civilization from British and English history—a subject I have touched upon in the introduction to Part I. If famous military stations are now no longer recognisable even in the shape of ruins; if the nomenclature has so entirely changed as often to defy identification or even recognition; if the course of some of the most magnificent roads which have ever by any people been con-

structed is often interrupted by a ploughed field running right across it, perhaps to again reappear, after being thus obliterated, at some distance beyond the point where it was lost ; if the stamp of an implacable antagonism is shown in other ways to have been heavily laid upon Roman monuments in Great Britain, there needs some very powerful arguments to prove that institutions, law, culture, and art survived amid the wreck of the more indestructible physical evidences of Roman greatness.

I had thought at one time of including in this volume a series of papers which must now be considered almost in the light of a literary curiosity. In 1845 there first appeared a paper entitled "Some Remarks on a Neglected Fact in English History," under the initials "H. C. C." This was followed up by others under the same title. That these interesting contributions next took the shape of a small volume entitled *A Neglected Fact in English History*, by Henry Charles Coote, and published in 1864 ; that the importance of this little work was recognised, as shown by the fierce attack upon it by Professor Freeman in *Macmillan's Magazine* ; and that finally the original letters to the *Gentleman's Magazine* were expanded into the well-known work entitled the *Romans of Britain*, are facts perhaps not generally known, and certainly of more than ordinary interest. Mr. Coote took a very decided view of the influence of the Romans in Britain, and his work is the great authority upon the subject, and a monument of lifelong devotion to a study of which few Englishmen realize either the importance or the fascination.

In the "Notes" I have given such information as the text required, without attempting to travel beyond the scope of the original. An "Addenda" will be found to contain a few articles omitted in their proper places in the text ; and I would crave indulgence for these and for others if there be any. The labour of searching these old volumes has been very great, but if I have failed to secure absolute perfection I think the omissions will be found of a very slight nature. With reference to coins, it is to be noted that only the finds which are recorded in conjunction with more extensive discoveries—villas, burials, roads, etc.—are included in this volume. The volume of the series on *Numismatics* will contain those accounts of the discoveries which are limited to coins only. It is necessary also to state that I have not included in this volume any of the reports of Societies. These are duly recorded in the printed volumes of "Transactions," and to reprint them here would have added con-

siderably to these pages without contributing to the design of printing the original contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

In speaking of the contributors to this volume, it will, I think, be recognised that such names as Sir R. C. Hoare, C. Roach Smith, Stebbing Shaw, E. B. Price, A. J. Kempe, T. D. Fosbroke, Joseph Hunter, W. Hutchinson, John Brent, William Barnes, among others, are sufficient guarantee that there is much of the greatest value to be found in the pages of these volumes, collected into an accessible and handy form. It is characteristic of the importance of the records of local discoveries that while many of the notes are unsigned, these being contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by local correspondents in immediate co-operation with Sylvanus Urban, most of them are signed by initials or by little-known or perfectly unknown names, being, in fact, the contributions of inhabitants of the various places, who were interested in the subject, not as literary men, but as keen observers and lovers of their own local antiquities. These facts really enhance the value of these collections to a degree not easily estimated.

The contributors who are known to English biography are as follows: George Baker, the well-known author of the *History of Northampton*, born in 1781 and died 1851; Rev. William Barnes, the Dorset poet, only lately dead; Cuthbert Bede, still amongst us; E. J. Carlos, who has found a place in Leslie Stephen's *National Biography*, born in 1798 and died 1851, an authority and writer on church architecture; William Chaffers, the great authority on pottery; Lionel Charlton, author of the *History of Whitby*, born 1722, died 1788; P. Collinson, F.R.S., a celebrated botanist, born 1694, died 1768, and who carried on business as a mercer in Gracechurch Street; T. D. Fosbroke, F.S.A., the well-known antiquary, born 1770, died 1842; J. S. Henslow, born at Rochester 1796, died 1861, Professor of Mineralogy and Botany at University of Cambridge; John Hodgson, author of *History of Northumberland*, born 1799, died 1845; Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., born 1783, died 1861, the assistant-keeper of Public Records; W. Hutchinson, F.S.A., born 1732, died 1814, author of *Views of Northumberland*, *History of Durham*, and *History of Cumberland*; A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., a well-known writer on Roman remains; Dr. J. Milner, F.S.A., born 1752, died 1826, the Roman Catholic prelate, and author of *History of Winchester*; James Parker, F.S.A., the celebrated excavator at Rome and authority on architecture;

Beale Poste, F.S.A., the well-known antiquarian writer; E. B. Price, F.S.A., the London antiquary; Rev. H. M. Scarth, the author of *Roman Britain*, lately published by the S.P.C.K., and a great authority on Roman archæology; Rev. Stebbing Shaw, Rector of Hartshorne, author of *History of Staffordshire*, born 1762, died 1802; C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., the veteran antiquary; Rev. W. Taylor, the celebrated writer and philosopher, born 1765, died 1836; J. K. Walker, M.D., a voluminous writer on antiquarian subjects; C. Warne, F.S.A., the celebrated Dorsetshire antiquary; John Whitaker, the author of *History of Manchester* and other well-known works.

The contributors for whom the authorities engaged on the *English Biographical Dictionary* ought to find a niche are F. J. Baigent, John Bellamy, S. Phillips Bevan, Henry L. Biden, Frederick Burton, Francis R. Carroll, Joseph Chattaway, John Clarke, W. H. Clarke, T. Clowes, D. A. Cobbett, Z. Cosens, J. Duncombe, Joseph Fairless, Richard Fowke, Alfred Hadfield, Seat Hill, W. Howarth, J. Hudson, P. O. Hutchinson, F. Ingram, C. M. Jessopp, J. G. Joyce, H. W. King, J. Langford, W. L. Lawrence, C. Leemans, T. Malleson, Richard Matthews, D. Parkes, G. Perry, J. C. Prattent, James Puttock, W. Hamilton Reid, John Adey Repton, John Richards, jun., G. B. Richardson, H. W. Rolfe, David Royce, Fred S. Scarisbing, John Smart, George Smith, W. Speckernell, Henry Still, W. P. Storer, J. Stafford, Alfred Joseph Stothard, Francis Swinhow, J. Tailby, Robert Uvedale, Stephen Vine, W. Watkins, Francis Wishaw, Charles Wilkinson, James Wyatt.

G. L. GOMME.

CASTELNAU, BARNES, S.W.
July, 1887.





CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LOCAL DISCOVERIES IN ENGLAND (<i>continued</i>):	
Staffordshire - - - - -	301
Suffolk - - - - -	303
Surrey - - - - -	318
Sussex - - - - -	328
Warwickshire - - - - -	342
Westmoreland - - - - -	343
Wiltshire - - - - -	346
Worcestershire - - - - -	356
Yorkshire - - - - -	358
Cornwall (Supplemental) - - - - -	384
Cumberland - - - - -	384
Devonshire - - - - -	387
Essex - - - - -	387
Gloucestershire - - - - -	389
Hertfordshire - - - - -	389
Lincolnshire - - - - -	395
Middlesex - - - - -	398
LOCAL DISCOVERIES IN WALES:	
Anglesea - - - - -	401
Breconshire - - - - -	401
Caernarvonshire - - - - -	403
Glamorganshire - - - - -	405
Montgomeryshire - - - - -	407
Pembrokeshire - - - - -	407
LOCAL DISCOVERIES IN SCOTLAND - - - - -	409
ROMAN ROADS AND STATIONS:	
The Stations on Iters ii., x., xi., and xii. of Antoninus - - - - -	419
The Fifth Iter of Antoninus - - - - -	429

	PAGE
ROMAN ROADS AND STATIONS (<i>continued</i>):	
The Seventh Iter of Antoninus - - - -	431
The Ninth Iter of Antoninus - - - -	434
Traces of a Roman Military Way through Sussex, Surrey, and Kent -	436
Survey of that part of the Roman Road called the Imperial Way, which lies between Silchester and Staines - - - -	438
Roman Roads in Essex - - - -	448
Roman Stations in Essex - - - -	449
Roman Roads in Staffordshire - - - -	454
Roman Roads and Stations of the Regni - - - -	459
Line of the Roman Road from the Humber to York - - - -	463
Durnovaria - - - -	468
Mordunum - - - -	469
On the Limits of the Earliest Roman Station at London - - - -	482
Site of Anderida - - - -	488
Castor, in Norfolk - - - -	496
Roman Stations near Stafford - - - -	498
The Novercæ of Roman Camps - - - -	499
The Embankment of the Thames - - - -	502
HISTORICAL NOTES:	
A Visit to the Portus Itius - - - -	507
The Time of Cæsar's Invasion - - - -	515
Cæsar's Cantian Campaigns - - - -	520
Samian Ware - - - -	547
On Helmets worn by the Romans - - - -	568
NOTES - - - -	575
ADDENDA - - - -	592
PLACE-NAME INDEX OF ROMAN REMAINS - - - -	603
INDEX - - - -	610





LOCAL DISCOVERIES IN ENGLAND

(Continued).

Staffordshire.

EBCHESTER.

[1784, *Part I.*, p. 974.]

A Roman altar was lately found at Ebchester, in this neighbourhood, and is now in my possession. I have endeavoured to explain it, but am not perfectly satisfied with my own reading. I shall be happy to have the opinion of more learned antiquaries; and hope a copy of the inscription will for that purpose be soon admitted into your useful work. *See the Plate, fig. 3.* The characters of the three first lines are very plain; the first and last letters of the fourth line less so; and the latter end of the fifth line more defaced. [See Note 20.]

PORCUSTUS.

HINTS.

[1772, p. 558.]

As some workmen were digging for gravel, last winter, on Hints Common, about three-quarters of a mile north from the Watling Street road, they discovered, at the depth of 4 feet from the surface of the earth, a pig of lead, 150 lb. weight, with an inscription cast in basso relievo, surrounded by a border of an equal height. Through favour of the possessor, Ralph Floyer, Esq., I have been permitted to measure and make an exact drawing of this monument of antiquity, which I have herewith sent you, not doubting of your readiness to oblige your antiquarian readers with a representation of it in your magazine.

RICHARD GREEN.

[1773, p. 61.]

We are infinitely obliged to Mr. Floyer for communicating to the public the very ancient block of lead discovered upon Hints

Common, Com. Staff., A.D. 1771, and to Mr. Green, whose accuracy in those things is well known to you, and may be thoroughly depended upon, for presenting us with an exact drawing of it.* This block, so perfect in all its parts, and a remnant of such remote antiquity, may be esteemed a most admirable curiosity. [See Note 21.] The inscription, IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V. COS, is to be read "Imperatore Vespasiano septimum, Tito Imperatore quintum Consulibus." [Huebner, p. 222.]

STAFFORD.

[1818, *Part I.*, p. 78.]

Jan. 13.—A perfect Roman pavement was discovered about 1½ yards below the surface of the ground, by some workmen who were digging at the Hanging Ditch public-house, near Stafford.

UTTOXETER.

[1788, *Part I.*, pp. 210, 211.]

I have sent you a drawing of the remains of a brass, or mixed metal, vessel, which was brought to me on the 14th of February last, and was found by a labourer the day before, in digging upon a common belonging to the parish of Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, which had never before been cultivated, and which is now inclosing in consequence of an Act of Parliament, for the purpose of aiding the poor rates, which are very high here. (*See Plate II.*, fig. 5.)

The common where the vessel was found is called the High Wood: there is a very remarkable eminence upon it, which goes by the name of Toot Hill, supposed to be a tumulus, and is upon the very highest part of the common, and is conspicuous at many miles' distance. All the bottom part of the vessel, of which this drawing is an exact copy, is corroded away by time; and as the Romans, when they conquered England, had several stations in this neighbourhood, I suppose it to have been a vessel in use among them, and I am the more confirmed in my supposition, as it has a very near resemblance to a Roman vessel described in the third volume of Montfaucon's "Antiquities" by Humphreys, and of which there is a figure in Plate xxiv., No. 9.

According to the account there given of such vessels, I suppose it to be an epichysis for bringing wine to the table; or, perhaps, it was appropriated for their sacrifices. The measure, over the top, is 3½ inches from the lid to the handle, and the handle is 5 inches to the top of the bended part. The metal seems to have been covered over, both inside and outside, with a hard and smooth enamel, where it is not corroded or chipped off, and to have been of a gray colour. The handle seems to have been richly gilt with gold; and the labourer who found it was exceedingly elated, expecting that the whole had

* *Magaz.*, 1772, p. 558.

been of that precious metal, and was very much disappointed when it proved to be only brass. Whether the vessel is what the Romans called a *seria*, guttus or *epichysis*, I shall leave to the more learned antiquaries to determine. I wished very much to have procured it, to have sent it to Mr. Green of Lichfield; but after I had seen it, and made this drawing, it was fetched from me so often, to have the quality of the metal tried by different people, and was so mutilated by filing, scraping and hammering, that it was quite spoiled for a curiosity.

S. BENTLEY.

YOXALL.

[1774, *p.* 358.]

As Mr. Robert Wright, of Yoxall, in the county of Stafford, was not long since levelling a piece of ground, half a mile distant from his dwelling-house, he discovered near forty vessels of coarse brown soft earth, almost full of the ashes and fragments of human bones. Most of the vessels were broken in the taking up: one of them, however (the least damaged), was presented to Mr. Green's museum, for the inspection of the curious; an exact drawing of which I have here enclosed, and it is hoped will find a place in your magazine.

Yours, etc. A. B.

Suffolk.

ALDBURGH.

[1832, *Part I.*, *p.* 452.]

On Easter Monday, as the servants of a farmer at Aldburgh were digging in his orchard, they found, a little more than a yard from the surface, a most beautiful tessellated pavement, very considerable in extent, and exhibiting a great variety of colours, the figure of a lion occupying the centre. Aldburgh, the ancient *Isurium*, is a station at which remains of Roman habitations have formerly been found; and we trust that a further account of the present discovery will be given to the public. [This should be under Yorkshire, see Note 22.]

BURGH CASTLE.

[1846, *Part II.*, *p.* 638.]

The remains of Burgh Castle, the *Garianonum* of the Romans, at the confluence of the Yare and Waveney, near Yarmouth, have been brought to the hammer as part of the estate of the late Mrs. Lydia Baret, which was divided into thirteen lots, the castle and 27 acres around and within its walls forming one. We are happy to add that this interesting specimen of a Roman fortress has been saved, by being purchased by that zealous antiquary, Sir John Boileau, Bart.

[1850, *Part II.*, p. 418.]

Sir John Boileau is making excavations in the interior of this interesting Roman *castrum*, with the superintending assistance of Mr. Harrod. This *castrum* resembles that of Richborough, in Kent, in its general features and situation, being walled on three sides, while the fourth, looking towards the sea, appears to have depended for protection on an inland cliff, which is rather steep at the two extremities, but in the centre shelves gradually down to a kind of platform. It is here Mr. Harrod is at present engaged in ascertaining whether, as some have supposed, there formerly existed a fourth wall. At Richborough Mr. Rolfe failed in detecting the remains of any masonry according with the walls on the high ground, and it appears that no traces of any such fortification have yet been found at Lymne, one of the other great defences of the Saxon shore. Burgh is not so extensive as Richborough, and both are surpassed in dimensions by Lymne.

CODDENHAM.

[1824, *Part I.*, p. 261.]

As some labourers in the employ of Mr. Wm. Haward were lately at work in a field in his occupation, at Coddendam, County Suffolk, upon the estate of Sir William Middleton, Bart., they discovered a box of copper, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, but much disfigured by the green rust of age. Upon the face or lid of the box is the head of a Roman emperor, and on the reverse a group, supposed to represent a general addressing his cohorts. The box when found was closely shut, and on being opened there were discovered two convex mirrors of highly burnished metal, each about the size of a crown-piece. Roman coins of the reigns of different emperors have been found in the neighbourhood at various times, and near to the field above alluded to a few were dug up some months since, both of silver and of copper: two of these coins bearing the head of Vespasianus, and one of Crispina Augusta, with the usual inscriptions, were in a state of tolerable preservation; the others were either much or entirely obliterated. From the similarity of the imperial head upon the lid of the box, and upon the coins bearing the head of Vespasianus, there is reason to suppose that the box was of the same era, and that it was a speculum or mirror belonging to some Roman matron of the vicinity. Two urns have also been discovered in the same place, one entire, except that the handle was broken off, the other more mutilated, and containing human bones, and many fragments of funereal urns lie scattered about the same field. That there was a Roman station not far distant is generally admitted, and as the Romans always fixed upon elevated sites, antiquaries have been of opinion that Beacon Hill, in Coddendam, was its situation. Traces of a road have been discovered passing through the Coddendam field, which

road is supposed to have led from Colchester, the ancient Camulodunum, in the direction of Great Blakenham Church, passing a cottage called Sharnford* Cottage (close to which there was a ford) to Beacon Hill, and from thence to Taesborough and to Caister, in Norfolk. Of the existence of this road, although it does not appear upon any of the maps, no doubt has ever been entertained, but antiquaries have been at a loss what precise course it took. It is, we hear, the intention of Sir William Middleton, and of some gentlemen in the neighbourhood, to endeavour to trace its course, and we trust that their exertions will be successful towards establishing this curious point of antiquarian research.

[1825, *Part I.*, pp. 291-293.]

I send you the following account of some Roman antiquities discovered in December, 1823, in an inclosure near the banks of the river Gyppen, in the parish of Coddendam.

I will premise, however, that three years ago, on opening some ditches on the property of Sir Wm. Middleton, on the west of the present turnpike road from Ipswich to Scole (the Pye road), and near the 7-mile stone, the labourers came to a solid artificial stratum of stone and gravel, about 6 or 7 yards in breadth—evidently an ancient road, British or Roman. This has since been satisfactorily traced in nearly a straight direction to the river Gyppen, where there was formerly a ford. It is remarkable that the meadow next the river on the north side still retains the name of Sharnford, q. d. the Causeway Ford; and that adjoining the river on the south is now called Causeway Meadow. This ancient road is supposed to have been a British trackway subsequently used by the Romans; and may have been the line of communication between the *Statio ad Taum* (Taesborough in Norfolk, near the Venta Icenorum), and the *Statio ad Ansam* (Stratford on the Stour, on the borders of Essex). The distance from the *Statio ad Taum* to the *Statio ad Ansam* considerably exceeding the usual distance between one Roman station and another, there can be little or no doubt but that an intermediate station existed in this vicinity, although no clear evidence of its actual site has been hitherto discovered. A small bronze statue (as supposed) of Nero, which was found some years since on the Earl of Ashburnham's property in the adjoining parish of Creting, and presented by his lordship to the British Museum, and various Roman coins, found in the neighbourhood, strengthen this opinion.

In December, 1823, in an inclosure through which the above ancient road passes, and at about 40 or 50 yards from its course westerly, on removing some earth about 2 feet from the surface, the labourer struck his spade on a Roman urn and broke it; on taking up the fragments, it was found to contain a small quantity of human

* Sharn, a causeway—*Saxon*.

bones, having the appearance of being partly burnt. This urn, judging from the fragment, was about the capacity of 3 quarts. It is of coarse slate-coloured earth, without any ornament. Within a foot of this was at the same time taken up a smaller vessel, of a very fine light red earth; and by the side of these was found a circular flat bronze box of extremely beautiful workmanship, and in a high state of preservation. On opening it, it was found to contain in the lid a small convex metallic speculum, and in the under-part a larger one. They appear to be of silver, highly polished. Indeed, they are now but little corroded, and still retain a considerable degree of polish. On the outside, in an ornamental circular compartment of the lid, is a medallion, probably of Vespasian (fig. 1, p. 291), and on one on the under-part, an "Adlocutio ad Milites" (fig. 2).

The attitudes of the figures are very spirited, and the design and execution masterly and elegant. Under this group appears to have been an inscription; but this unfortunately is completely obliterated. The diameter of the box is 2 inches and $3\frac{1}{2}$ tenths. The depth $2\frac{1}{2}$ tenths of an inch. These remains were found deposited in the earth, without any surrounding cist or other protection.

The discovery of these antiquities induced a further search in the same inclosure; all, however, that has since been found there is a great quantity of fragments of Roman pottery, of various coloured earths, some having the marks of combustion on them and others not; fragments of what has been called the Samian ware, an extremely fine earth, still retaining a varnish of bright coral colour, and pieces of Roman bricks and tiles, all which are scattered through great part of the field; a quantity of ashes and some iron cinders, large oyster-shells in a state of decomposition, also part of a stone wall about 30 yards in length, and 2 feet in thickness, running nearly east and west; but whether this be Roman may perhaps admit of doubt.

It is observable that, with the exception of the funereal urn and vase first above mentioned, no other earthen vessels have been found perfect; although the inclosure is strewn with fragments of them from the depth of 1 to 3 feet or more. Nor has this pottery been broken by the plough; for the soil, although long in cultivation, seems not to have been disturbed deep enough to turn up these fragments till this last winter. Hence arises a plausible conjecture, that this has been the site of a Roman villa, which, with its inhabitants, may have been destroyed in the revolt of Boadicea, who, as we know from Tacitus, "*Annal.*" lib. iv., c. 31 *et seq.*, with the Iceni and Trinobantes, took and burnt the Roman colonial station of Cameldunum (Colchester), and devastated with fire and sword this part of the country.

In and near the place where the remains which are the principal object of this memoir were discovered, have lately been found the

following Roman coins, viz., a Nero, middle brass; Trajan, ditto; a supposed colonial coin of Claudius, but doubtful, being very imperfect; Vespasian, middle brass; Vespasian, denarius; Crispina Augusta, silver; Magnentius, small brass; Valentinian, ditto; Constantius, ditto.

Yours, etc. J. L.

EYE.

[1818, *Part II.*, pp. 131, 132.]

In passing through the ancient borough of Eye, a few days since, I accidentally heard that some urns had been found on the preceding day by two labourers, who were employed in digging gravel for the use of the parish. Although much pressed for time, I could not resist proceeding to the spot, where I arrived at the very moment the men were earnestly engaged in removing with their pocket-knives the sand which surrounded an urn they had then met with.

During the two hours I remained in the field fourteen sepulchral relics of antiquity presented themselves to the point of the mattock, out of which three only were extracted entirely; the rest were generally of so tender a nature as not to endure the slightest pressure or exposure. The contents, however, of those which thus crumbled away were carefully ransacked with the expectation of their enclosing some valuable coin, utensil, or ornament of dress. In this research they were not entirely disappointed, although but little variety gratified our view. The articles which were picked up during my observation consisted in a few fragments of iron shears, of the same shape as those commonly used by grooms, although the length did not exceed the size of small scissors. The metal was exceedingly corroded, and none were perfect. Two ivory buttons, resembling in shape a globe of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter, divided in the centre: the shank of the buttons was consumed, but the holes where it was inserted were clearly visible. The most curious thing was a pair of tweezers, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. They are as perfect as if recently taken from the hands of the artisan—the shape of the instrument corresponds so exactly with those now in general use, that had I observed them elsewhere, I should have judged them the manufacture of the present day. Their metal is of brass, but finely crusted over with the inimitable bloom of antiquity. I observed them lying in their ancient bed of ashes, one side of the urn having crumbled away. Near them was a small fragment (I believe of gold), about 2 inches long, but to what it originally belonged (not being conversant in antiquities) I could form no opinion.

The site of this noble cemetery is in an enclosure, belonging to the abbey farm, the property of the Marquis Cornwallis, a mile from the town, and lying on the southern side of a rivulet, which divides Eye from the parish of Broome. It is distant from the river about 150 yards, and the first excavation was made where the ground begins to

slope towards the meadows. By a survey which I made, it appears that 120 square yards of land have been ransacked, in which space upwards of 150 urns were found in three or four days. Of these, seventeen now remain in a fine state of preservation, and are carefully secured, with their contents untouched, to gratify the taste and to adorn the mansion of the nobleman on whose domain the discovery was made.

That the urns were placed very contiguous to each other is evident from the number found in so small a space which have not perished; but whether any regularity or order was observed as to the manner in which they were deposited has not been remarked. I paid a particular attention to the depth they laid, and found that it varied from 4 inches to 2 feet from the surface. Indeed, I saw two so near the top of the land, that the plough had severed and carried away a considerable portion of each. The bones or ashes seem to have suffered but little from the lapse of centuries, for I do not conceive that they could have been of a much firmer texture when they were first calcined. One continued layer of pebbles forms a kind of pavement over the whole, which is generally within nine inches or a foot of the surface.

Those urns which had been capable of resisting the air were removed to a neighbouring cottage, whither I was invited to inspect them. I counted twelve, which all differed in size, shape, and in the ornamental marks which appear on their superficies. Their height varies from 5 to 9 inches, and some were much more elegant than others. The labourers remarked that they had not found two to correspond in any respect. The external ornaments are of the most simple kind, and are, I presume, the extemporaneous production of the potter's fancy, consisting of lines, curves, angles, and dots marked in the clay, previous to their undergoing the operation of fire. The urns were filled with calcined bones, nearly to the brim, and were topped up with very fine sand.

GREAT WRATTING.

[1804, *Part II.*, p. 1006.]

The amphora and patera (figs. 2, 3) were found in a field called Nine Acres, upon Monks Land, belonging to Sotterly Green farm, in the parish of Great Wrating, Suffolk, the *Ad Ansam* of Salmon.

It is evident, from the great quantity of Roman pottery, coins, urns, etc., found in this field, it was originally the site of a station or villa.

CLARENSIS.

ROUGHAM.

[1843, *Part II.*, p. 190.]

An interesting discovery has been made in the parish of Rougham, in Suffolk, on the estate of Philip Bennet, Esq. At the corner of the two roads leading to Hessett and Bradfield Manger, and within a few

feet of the highway, stands the half of a hill called Eastlow Hill; and a slight distance therefrom were two semicircular mounds, between 50 and 60 feet in diameter, covered with herbage and shrubs. The men belonging to Mr. Levett's farm were engaged in clearing away one of these mounds, to lay the soil upon the land, when, on the 7th of July, having come to the centre, they broke into an oven-shaped cist or cavern, containing sepulchral remains. A hole, between 3 and 4 feet square, appears to have been first dug about 3 feet below the general level of the surface. Four rows of red hollow tile bricks, each 11 inches long, about 6 inches wide, and 7 inches deep, and nearly an inch thick, and having a circular hole in the middle of each end, were then placed on the soil, and covered over with large flat tiles. The whole was arched over with tiles, forming a chamber of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and 2 feet deep, open at one end. Each tile is ornamented with two striated bands, placed diagonally from angle to angle, and crossing in the centre. In this chamber was a large square canister-shaped urn of emerald green glass, with a handle on one side. It was nearly 16 inches high and 8 inches wide, and was about half full of burnt bones. By the side of the urn was a large plain iron lamp, of the accustomed form—in length, from the wick chamber to the handle, nearly a foot. Unfortunately, from the ignorance of the man who made the discovery, the cist was opened so carelessly that the fine and curious urn was broken. This part of the country must have been extensively occupied by the Romans, for pateræ, and pieces of pottery, swords, spurs, and other articles of iron, have been frequently, and for many years, discovered within 2 feet of the surface in this part of Rougham, and within the adjoining parish of Welnetham. The land was common till within the last thirty years; and so many human bones were found, it is said, on removing part of the Eastlow Hill, that the then owner of the estate (Mr. Kedington) refused to permit any more of the hill to be cleared. Adjoining to the tumulus which has been opened is another, as yet quite undisturbed; and near to them are the pits or trenches where it is probable the soil was procured to heap up these simple and long-enduring resting-places. Whether Mr. Bennet will sanction the removal of the remaining tumulus is not known. It is to be hoped he will forbid it.

[1843, *Part II.*, pp. 524-528.]

The excavations on the estate of P. Bennet, Esq., at Rougham, in Suffolk, have been pursued; and Professor Henslow has communicated so agreeable a narrative thereof to the *Bury Post*, that we shall take leave to transfer it nearly entire to our pages:—

The barrow explored on this occasion covered a space 32 feet in diameter, but was of low elevation, not being raised more than 6 feet above the general level of the soil. When I arrived at the spot, the workmen had already dug a trench about 4 feet wide,

directly through the middle of the barrow, and nearly down to a level with the surface of the field. This trench ranged nearly north-east and south-west, its direction being a little more than this to the east and west. Upon digging a little deeper, about the middle part of the trench, we struck upon some masonry, and, on clearing away the soil, we laid bare a sort of low dome covered with a thin layer of mortar, and not very unlike the top of a cottager's oven, but of larger dimensions and flatter. The mortar was spread over a layer of pounded brick about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, which had been reduced to a coarse powder, intermixed with small fragments. Under this was a layer of light brown loamy clay, which was probably some of the very brick earth from which the bricks had been fabricated. The three layers together averaged about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 inches in thickness, and formed a crust which had been spread over an irregular layer of broken tiles and bricks, which lay confusedly piled round the sides and over the top of a regular piece of masonry within them. Had time permitted, we might have levelled the barrow, or at least have dug fairly round the brickwork, and thus have exposed it entirely, before we proceeded to examine the contents; but, the public having been invited to attend by three o'clock, it became impossible for us to proceed otherwise than by immediately penetrating from above. The result of this part of the investigation was the discovery of a chamber of brickwork, covered by broad tiles 17 inches long, 12 broad, and 2 thick. The general character of the masonry was the same as that which is described in the "*Archæologia*"—vol. xxv., and figured at plate 3—by the late excellent antiquary, and greatly regretted John Gage Rokewode, Esq., in his first paper on the Barrows at Bartlow. The floor of the chamber was 2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches from north-east to south-west, extending (singularly enough) in the very direction of the trench which crossed the barrow; and it was 2 feet 1 inch from north-west to south-east, so that it was nearly square. The walls were composed of five courses of brickwork cemented by rather thick layers of mortar. The roof was formed by four ranges of tiles laid horizontally, so that each range lapped over and projected on every side by about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches more inwardly than the one beneath it, until the opening was finally closed by two narrow strips of tile, filling in the space left in the last range. The height of the chamber from the floor to the top was 2 feet 3 inches. The whole was covered by an additional layer of four broad tiles; and a bed of mortar and clay between each layer had received the impressions from the tiles above it in a manner which, at first, conveyed a notion that they had been painted. There may be some trifling inaccuracies in this account of the masonry, owing to the somewhat hurried character of our proceedings; but the main facts are stated as I noted them on the spot.

On removing one of the smaller tiles in the upper range, I had the

satisfaction of peeping into a chamber, with its furniture as beautifully arranged as that in the one described by Mr. Rokewode, with the unlucky exception that a large glass vase, owing to the joint effects of time and corruption, had fallen to pieces; and its fragments were now lying towards the north corner, in a confused heap, intermixed with the burnt human bones it had contained. Upon the heap was lying a beautiful glass lachrymatory, slightly injured in its projecting rim. Everything else was entire, and eight pieces of pottery appeared still to retain the very positions in which they had been placed by the sorrowing friends and attendants of the deceased, sixteen or seventeen centuries before.

[A fanciful description of the ceremony is then given.]

An iron rod 10 inches in length was driven firmly into the south-west wall, between the most uppermost courses of bricks, and not far from the south corner. This was directed so as to stretch out towards the centre of the chamber, and from its extremity another iron rod 5 inches long is depending vertically, and to the bottom of this is attached an open iron lamp, of rather small dimensions, with its lip towards the north.* This lamp still contains a lump of carbonaceous matter, which has evidently once been an element of the wick. The iron has become so much rusted into one continuous mass, that a hasty examination has not been sufficient to enable me to say how the several parts of this apparatus were connected together. A similar excuse must plead for any possible error in my not having correctly deciphered the names or symbols of the worthy potters who have stamped them on the several pateræ and simpula of hard red smooth earthenware, of whose manufacture they were doubtless deservedly proud. In my present ignorance, then, I can only say that these legends appeared to me to read as follows: (1st) VVIII; (2nd) MICCIO. I.; (3rd) ALBVCI; (4th) ILLIOMPIA.

You alluded some little time ago to certain remains which had been found in another barrow near the one which was opened yesterday. A large iron lamp; a very large and solid glass jar, well filled with bones; and some remarkable hollow bricks with holes, were all that Mr. Bennet was able to rescue.

To the above we can add, that a few days subsequent to the operations described by Professor Henslow, we had the opportunity of visiting the spot, and by the hospitality and courtesy of P. Bennet, Esq., the gratification of viewing the different articles found in the tumuli, which have been described with interesting minuteness by Professor Henslow. The potters' marks impressed on the pateræ of fine red ware might be read MICCIO F., *i.e.*, FECIT, and ALBUCI, contractedly for "ALBUCI MANU," or "EX OFFICINA ALBUCI:" the other legends are at present very uncertain. Rougham is a beautiful sylvan hamlet lying a short distance south of the high road from Bury St.

* Both rods were twisted ornamentally like a British torques.

Edmund's to Ipswich, through Woolpit. The Roman tumuli at Rougham are four in number, and are close to the eastern side of a country lane, the direction of which is nearly north and south. The lane itself is a vestige of Roman occupation, yet a mere vicinal or rural communication with greater lines of Roman way which traverse the Icenian district. Indications of Roman occupation about Bury are very numerous and decided; the Icenian territory had been probably colonized in the earliest periods of Roman domination in Britain. Vestiges of a camp are spoken of at Cockfield, and of extensive earthworks at Woolpit. The northernmost of the four tumuli at Rougham is distinguished as Easlow or Eastlow Hill. The country people give the word a broad accent, and call it *Aise-low*. The larger tumulus rises about 12 feet above the surface of the natural soil, and is about 100 feet in diameter: some twenty-five years since a small portion of its west side was cut away, and the tradition of the country is that several human bones, a sword, and a spur were then found; such statements are generally substantially if not circumstantially correct. This tumulus is now overgrown with hazel and hawthorn bushes. The next tumulus southward of what I shall call the Eastlow was opened in July: it contained, in a chamber of brick, a noble square cinerary urn of greenish glass with reeded handle, the calcined ashes of a corpse, and an iron lamp, with an ornamented projection at the back of the light, shaped somewhat like a fig leaf; this lamp or cresset depended from two iron rods linked together, one of which had been driven into the wall, and formed a right angle with the second iron rod; the lamp itself was doubtless of polished steel, of which the metallic splendour reflected the rays of light. The third tumulus was that explored by Mr. Henslow; we found it to be 50 feet in diameter, and 5 feet high; the sepulchral chamber which it covered contained a cinerary urn of amphora form, and of very thin glass, and other numerous articles deposited with its sacred contents. Mr. Henslow, we think rightly, concludes that the contents of the vessels had been poured out in libation.

The articles in the tombs at Rougham bore strong resemblance to those discovered at the Bartlow Hills, by the then Mr. Gage, the late respected director of the Society of Antiquaries. The pottery we did not think quite so old as that of Bartlow. We suggested when at Rougham that these tumuli were family sepulchres, and that a Roman dwelling could not be far off. The next morning, in a field occupied by Mr. Levett, about 250 yards south-east of the tumuli, the plough struck on some vestiges of buildings. About the middle of the field we ourselves observed the plain remains of a Roman floor, constructed of a stratum of pounded tiles and mortar, and a stratum of fine white calcareous stucco on the surface. I should add, in conclusion, that the fourth tumulus was opened; it had probably been before disturbed; in it were found numerous fragments of

urns, their external surfaces coloured black, and retaining many portions of calcined human bone.

A. J. K.

[1844, *Part II.*, pp. 369-375.]

On Thursday morning, the 4th of July last, the workmen were sufficiently advanced, after more than four days' constant labour, in exploring the large tumulus at Rougham, named Eastlow Hill, to raise our expectations that we should be able to expose an extensive deposit of Roman remains by the hour at which the public had been invited to attend. The discovery turned out to be something of a very different description from what I had anticipated. Instead of urns and vases, pateræ and simpula, lamps and lachrymatories, such as were found last year, the only contents of a large chamber of masonry, which I shall presently describe, proved to be a leaden coffin inclosing a skeleton.

The object of peculiar interest to myself was the well-built chamber of masonry. My very slight acquaintance with antiquities must be my excuse, if I wrongly suppose this chamber to afford us, in England, a solitary existing example of the manner in which the Romans tiled their houses. I recollect having seen a rather rude sketch (in the second volume of the "*Archæologia*") of a tiled roof, which, I believe, was of the same description as the one we have now found. It was discovered in a tumulus near York; and, if it has been preserved, it may be a second example of this sort. In that case, the chamber contained urns, and other articles of the ordinary funereal deposits. It is not at all likely that any Roman building should be standing above ground in this country, with a tiled roof laid over it 1500 years ago. Another feature in this chamber, of peculiar interest to myself, was the arched vaulting, a mode of construction of which, I believe, there are very few examples among us which can positively be assigned to the Romans—so few, indeed, that, at one time, it was imagined that they were not well acquainted with the principle of the arch. I am not sure that in this case we can feel quite confident that they had placed absolute faith in that principle, for circumstances may have required that the woodwork which formed the centring should not be removed. It had been left, and had rotted, and the fragments had fallen upon the lid of the coffin.

[An imaginative description is then given of the supposed building.]

With the assistance of the woodcuts you have so liberally consented to introduce in illustration of my account, I shall hope to make the structure of the chamber we have discovered intelligible to all. I dare say that very few of the many hundreds who passed through the tumulus were aware they had been peeping into a building of the form represented in fig. 1. More than half of the roof still remains covered over by the superincumbent earth; but we may see plainly from what has been exposed the real character of the whole.

The workmen approached this subterraneous building by driving a tunnel, at the level of the natural soil, and about 6 feet high, as directly towards the centre of the barrow as we could judge. At a distance of about 50 feet from the outermost edge of the base, they struck upon the middle of the western wall, running in a north-east direction, rather more westerly than the direction of the tunnel. They had previously come upon the solid concrete foundation (A B C) upon which the tomb is built, and which projects on all sides round the walls. The walls of the tomb were then exposed by tunnelling completely round the tomb. The passage at the north end of the tomb was driven easterly till an opening was effected in that direction through the tunnel, which was the nearest way out again; the tomb lying to the east of the centre of the barrow. Notwithstanding the very unfavourable state of the weather, many hundreds visited the spot, and the constant stream of wonderers passing through the tunnels was kept up for five or six hours without any intermission. It was very satisfactory to witness the good behaviour and good humour of the labouring classes, who appeared to be far more gratified than I could have expected, considering the absence of all those kinds of sepulchral furniture which were found in the adjoining tumuli opened last year. Common prudence has dictated the propriety of removing the leaden coffin to a better secured locality; and Mr. Bennet having left it at my disposal, I have suggested it being transferred to the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge, the nearest public depository suited to its reception with which I am acquainted. It would certainly have been desirable to have left it with the skeleton in the tomb; but probably it would have gradually corroded away in that position. I intend to forward the skull to the Anatomical Museum at Cambridge, where it will possess a scientific interest among a rapidly increasing and skilfully arranged collection of objects of comparative anatomy. The rest of the bones will be left in the tomb, to undergo that speedy decay which the admitted influences of the weather will produce upon them. This skull has all its teeth in perfect preservation; but the sutures in it are partially obliterated. In stature this Roman appears to have been rather more than 6 feet; but the bones had become so much detached from each other as to make the measurement a matter of uncertainty. There was a corrupted looking mass of carbonaceous matter, intermixed with hair, about the floor of the coffin and over the bones, which possibly had partly resulted from the decomposition of the hide of some animal in which the body had been wrapped. There were also root-like fibres projecting from the bones, of the legs more especially, which gave them a strange and shaggy appearance. This proves to be a mass of a peculiar kind of fungus, called *rhizo-morpha*. The leaden chest or coffin was 6 feet 9 inches in length, 1 foot 5 inches broad, and 1 foot 4 inches deep. It had been formed of a sheet or sheets of lead, by turning up the sides and ends, after cutting out the pieces

at the corners ; just as we make a paste-board tray. The edges were soldered on the inside. The lid was a loose sheet, also turned in at the edges and ends in the same way, but without any soldering. The whole was superficially converted to the white oxide (the common white paint of the shops), so that this coffin may be said to have been self-painted. It was also much corroded in parts. A reference to the figures will assist us in better appreciating the peculiarities of the tomb, and the measurement of its several parts.

Fig. 1 is a perspective view, as it would appear if perfectly cleared of the superincumbent earth.

Fig. 2 is a horizontal or ground plan of the tomb and the foundation.

Fig. 3 is a vertical section through the middle and at right angles to the ridge.

The same letters are used to mark the same parts in the different figures.

A B C, a concrete foundation of large flints and very hard mortar mixed with sand ; 15 feet square. D E (12 feet) ; E F ($6\frac{1}{2}$ feet) ; the walls of the tomb, 2 feet thick, 2 feet high at the sides (E N), and the ends 5 feet to the top.

These walls are of flints and mortar, with rows of tile at intervals, as in the city walls of Verulam, Colchester, etc.

It was probably when the walls had been raised to the height of 2 feet that the coffin was laid in the chamber, and then an arch turned over the cavity G H I. This arch is a half-cylinder of Roman tiles intermixed with such mortar. The two end walls were next built up to their full height, which served to close the tomb. The roofing above the arch was filled in with stones, brick and mortar. A bed of mortar was spread uniformly over the whole, sloping on each side as much as in common roofs. The tiling consists of twelve rows on each side, with four tiles in a row. Contiguous rows do not overlap at their edges ; but the superior tiles in each row overlap those immediately below them. The contrivance by which this effect is secured may be understood by referring to fig. 4, where Q is the upper part, and R the lower, of the same tile. There is a square projecting ridge upon the upper surface of the tile next the edges, but which does not extend quite up to the uppermost end ; so that a sort of notch is left there. On the under surface of the tile, and next the edges at the bottommost end, there are square depressions of sufficient size to admit a portion of the projecting ridges of the tile next below it—so that the under part of one is, as it were, loosely dovetailed with the upper portion of the next tile. A thick layer of mortar is laid over the junction lines of the contiguous rows, and completely embeds the elevated ridges along the edges of the tiles. Wherever this sort of tiling was exposed above ground I presume the mortar over the contiguous edges was further protected by other curved tiles, similar to those we place on the ridges of our

own roofs. Along the ridge, in this case, was laid a row of hollow flue-bricks, each of them 18 inches long, with a hole on one side. I presume these bricks had been prepared for a hypocaust, or a bath for hot vapour, in the villa : and that they happened to be lying about ready at hand for the workmen who were preparing the tomb. Several of the same description had been worked into the walls of the chamber in one of the tumuli opened last year.

The north end of the arched vault has been exposed, by removing a portion of the wall at that end ; but the wall at the south end has been left entire : so that no feature in the tomb has been destroyed which has not a duplicate left, for purposes of comparison or study. The weight and settlement of the superincumbent earth has cracked all the tiles ; but, on putting one of them together, I find it measures $15\frac{1}{4}$ by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick at the edges, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick in the middle. The coffin appears to have rested upon wood-work, or perhaps had been completely encased : for we found a great many nails, of various sizes, from 2 to 12 inches, lying by its side, and among a mass of decayed wood beneath it.

The addition of the little chamber (M) to the north end of the tomb appears to have been an after-thought, for it extends beyond the limits of the concrete foundation. When I first saw this chamber, I expected to find in it the sweepings of a funeral pyre, deposited in some coarse jar, as was the case in the largest of the Bartlow barrows, where Mr. Rokewode describes one to have been placed on the outside of the Bustum.

J. S. HENSLOW.

A tunnel, it appears, was driven towards the centre of the great Eastlow barrow, and at about the distance of 50 feet, its semi-diameter, the workmen struck upon a small vaulted building, constructed on a podium or base of concrete mortar and flints. This vault appears to have been about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width, clear dimensions of the interior. The sides, constructed of flint and layers of Roman tile, were about 2 feet in height. The ends, bearing north-east and south-west, were elevated like the gables of a house, and the whole was covered in by those Roman house-tiles, turned up at the edges and overlapping, of which representations will be found in your vol. for 1829, p. 401, part i., giving some further particulars than were to be found in the "Archæologia," vol. xxii., of the excavations made by Mr. Crofton Croker and myself, in the Warbank Field, Keston, of a Roman sacellum and tombs. It is not a little remarkable that the houselike vault at Eastlow, covered with tiles, exactly resembles in form the roof which I myself had conjecturally supplied in my sketch-book as a covering for one of the tombs discovered at Keston. [*Ante*, p. 147.] The bodies at Warbank, like that at Eastlow, had been laid nearly north and south, that is, with the face to the south ; and it may be no improbable deduction that the

heathen Romans in this arrangement regarded the meridian sun, while the Christian Church, in subsequent ages, have always in their ceremonial observances had respect to the Eastern sun, as a type of the appearance of Christ, and of the resurrection of the dead. I discovered and pointed out at Rougham, as at Warbank, the remains of a Roman villa, to which at both places had been attached a series of family tombs.

A small projecting chamber, about 18 inches square, was added to the north end of the tomb at Rougham, and appeared to have contained glass vessels which had perished by decomposition. House-like tombs, it will be remembered, for the unburnt body of the dead, were in use by the Etruscans (see an interesting specimen in the British Museum); they were employed in the Saxon times, and were succeeded by coffins of stone.

The skeleton at Eastlow was that of a man upwards of 6 feet in height, and in the mouth was a piece of coin to pay the fare of his ghost over the Styx. This coin, Mr. Henslow tells us, was much corroded—but its size and thickness, if stated, might lead pretty conclusively to an approximation of the date for the interment; a most desirable point, not yet elucidated.

The skeleton had been inclosed in a kind of coffin composed of sheets of lead turned up as a paper trough, and covered with a sheet of the same metal; it was not soldered, and the whole had been placed in an outer loculus or coffin of wood, of which the nails, varying in length from 2 to 12 inches, and the remains of the rotted chest, lay on the floor about the body. The Roman coffins of lead found at Southfleet, in Kent, were formed exactly in the manner above mentioned, and with them were also discovered many interesting articles of jewelry and costume.*

In speaking of the vaulting of the chamber, which appears to have been effected throughout its length on a centring of wood, and to be composed of such materials as were ready at hand, flue tiles, etc.

ALFRED J. KEMPE.

WHITTON, NEAR IPSWICH.

[1855, *Part I.*, p. 179.]

A tessellated pavement and foundations of walls have been discovered in a field at Whitton, near Ipswich. It is on slightly elevated land where a farmhouse and buildings have just been erected. It was in digging a ditch for the making a fence that the pavement was discovered. A portion was cleared, about 10 feet in length by 3 feet in breadth; it is of varied pattern: one strip is in scroll work, white on black ground; another is cabled form, composed of red, black, and white; a third in black squares placed lozenge-wise on white

* See communication of my late respected correspondent, Rev. Peter Rashleigh, to "*Archæologia*," vol. xiv.

ground; and a fourth in triangles formed of circular arcs. The whole is in very fair preservation. The field in which it is situate is called the Castle Hills, and is conjectured to have been the site of a castle of the Bigods, destroyed in the twelfth century. There have been various concrete foundations discovered in the field, all decidedly of Roman work, some of them being not less than 7 feet wide. Vast quantities of Roman bricks have recently been dug out, most of which were used in the foundations of the premises just erected. Fragments of Samian ware and other earthen vessels have from time to time been discovered in the field.

WICKHAM BROOKE.

[1788, *Part II.*, p. 702.]

The inclosed Roman fibula* and coins were ploughed up in a field, called "Four Acre Honeycomb," belonging to the Lodge Farm, in the parish of Wickham Brooke, about a mile from the fortifications at Lidgate in Suffolk. Having never seen a drawing of an oval Roman fibula, I thought this would be acceptable. The stone in the centre is in imitation of an amethyst, if not real, and raised nearly to a point. The gold plating which surrounds it is very perfect, and appears to have been laid on very thick, and but little defaced by time. Mr. Douglas, in his "*Nenia Britannica*," has favoured us with figures of several circular fibulæ, but not an oval one.

The coins found with it are principally of Constantine, with some of Probus and Sept. Sev. Pertinax. Likewise, at the same time, was found a cast in brass, which, I presume, was intended to represent an eagle, or an hawk—whether an ornament or a culinary vessel is uncertain.

CLARIENSIS.

Surrey.

BLETCHINGLEY.

[1814, *Part I.*, p. 86.]

As some labourers were lately grubbing up a hedge near Bletchingley, the property of — Perkins, Esq., they dug to a pile of brickwork within a foot or two of the surface, the regularity of which attracted their attention. And having extended their labour to the depth of about 6 feet, the remains of a Roman bath (of an oblong form, with two circular ends, and in size about 14 by 20 feet) were exposed to view; but its pavement was destroyed. Mr. Perkins has carefully preserved the remains, and is prosecuting his research, in expectation of similar discoveries. The arch, through which the water was conveyed from a neighbouring stream, is perfect. Fragments of richly ornamented tiles, of which, probably, the pavement was formed, are frequently thrown up by the plough.

* See Plate II., fig. 4.

COWEY STAKES.

[1826, *Part II.*, p. 355.]

An antiquarian discovery has been recently made during the recent improvements this year in the Thames navigation. The tradition of the precise station of the Cowey Stakes, supposed to be set down where Cæsar crossed the Thames, had been for some time lost, though it was known to be between Weybridge and Walton. In deepening the river about 200 yards above Walton Bridge, a line of old broken piles was discovered, some feet below the previous bed of the river. They were about as thick as a man's thigh. Many have been drawn, and are in the possession of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

LONDON (SOUTHWARK).

[1825, *Part II.*, pp. 633, 634.]

As the workmen employed by Mr. Chadwick, the architect, were lately digging near the foundation of the New Trinity Church, they discovered a Roman vase of a very peculiar form. Shortly afterwards they struck against one of very considerable dimensions, which could not be accurately ascertained, as it was unfortunately broken to pieces, and the fragments were carelessly shovelled away; but from those which remained, it is judged that it was about 4 feet high. Many fragments of Roman pottery, chiefly a light sort of stone ware, have been dug up there. It is supposed that this spot is contiguous to that which Bagford mentions in his letter to Hearne, as the place where a number of Roman remains had been found. Mr. Chadwick added the first specimen to the collection of Mr. G. Gwilt, the architect and antiquary. The latter gentleman has formed a small museum of the various Roman antiquities which have been recently discovered in the borough in digging the sewers. In digging near his own house in Union Street, amidst a variety of Roman remains, was found a very singular vessel, which in shape has some resemblance to a gallon stone bottle with a very small aperture. The aperture is perforated with small holes, and it is evidently adapted as a sort of watering-pot acting upon the principle of the common implement used in taking samples of liquor from casks, in which the fluid is retained so long as the orifice at the top is kept closed by the finger, but from which it flows as soon as it is removed. From the nature of the ware, which is black, the workmanship, and the situation in which it was found, no doubt whatever is entertained of its being a Roman utensil. A Samian cup and several specimens of Samian ware were found near the same spot. Some of the fragments resembled those found in digging in Lombard Street, near Birchin Lane, in 1786.*

* See "Archæologia," vol. viii. [*Ante*, p. 186.]

In digging for the erection of a steam-engine at Messrs. Barclay and Perkins's brewery, a human skeleton was discovered, and between the legs was found a vessel with several Roman coins, chiefly of the Lower Empire, in it.

Near the Dissenters' burying-ground was found, not long since, a Roman hypocaust, or flue. In the whole line of Union Street and Blackman Street were found various remains.

On the south side of St. Saviour's Church, a Roman tessellated pavement was found by some of Mr. Gwilt's workmen; but he was only enabled to remove a few fragments. A number of Roman coins were found; but those of which we have learned were chiefly of the Lower Empire. A copper coin of Antoninus Pius, with a Britannia on the reverse, was found in St. Saviour's churchyard. The head is in excellent preservation, and the execution is such as is, perhaps, not excelled by any modern coin—certainly not by any of our own.

In the course of the excavations for the new London Bridge, a quantity of Roman mortar was found, which, it was conjectured, had belonged to some Roman embankment which had fallen into the river at one time.

In the works carried on in the course of the restoration of St. Saviour's Church (which has been so absurdly stopped by a party of the learned parish dignitaries), a quantity of Roman bricks was dug up near the Spiritual Court, and were found worked in with the flint in the walls. The greater part of these antiquities have been collected and preserved by Mr. Gwilt.*

In making the new buildings lately behind the Cold Bath Fields Prison, a number of piles were dug up, and some stonework was found, which, we understand, appeared to be the vestiges of a bridge of great antiquity. In making the new buildings by the old Pancras church, the mounds which were accounted by Dr. Stukeley to be the remains of a Roman camp, and which is highly probable, notwithstanding the wildness of his other conjectures respecting it, have been entirely obliterated. The Spitalfields Mathematical Society, learning that the Roman camp in the fields beyond White Conduit House would soon be obliterated by the brickmakers, have had a drawing of it taken.†

[1832, *Part I.*, pp. 399, 400.]

The Roman remains discovered in the course of the excavations necessary for forming the new London Bridge approaches, on the City side, having been recorded, I beg leave to communicate, through the medium of your pages, an account of the interesting discoveries made during the same works on the southern side, the progress of which I have closely watched. [*Ante*, p. 212.]

* See "Itinerarium Curiosum."

[† It will be observed that this paragraph properly belongs to London in Middlesex.]

My communication principally relates to discoveries recently made in excavating for the foundations of the tavern, now being erected for Mr. Humphery, of which Mr. Allen is architect, and one or two other houses placed at the north-east angle of St. Saviour's Church, near the Lady Chapel. On this spot, toward the end of April, and at the beginning of the present month, numerous Roman remains have been discovered, most of which are now in my possession, consisting of fragments of the red Samian pottery, both plain and ornamented, among which were two vessels nearly perfect—one black vase of the figure usually considered to be sepulchral, with several fragments of similar vessels, varying a little in form, but always elegant; horns of animals, boars' tusks, coins (mostly imperfect); a glass vase; instruments of brass; a very remarkably formed key, of copper, in a fine state of preservation; fragments of amphoræ; a Roman bead or amulet; and various other less perfect, though interesting remains.

From all that I have seen and heard of the discoveries near this spot, I have but little doubt that a Roman temple once stood on or near the site of St. Saviour's Church, on the south side of which Mr. Gwilt discovered a beautiful tessellated pavement; and I have seen portions of others, found in the burial-ground, together with similar deposits to those above named.

The discoveries made a few years since, in and near King Street in the Borough, while constructing the grand sewers, plainly indicated a Roman burial-place. The recent discoveries, I am inclined to think, were of a sacrificial nature, and the general appearances of the spot have led me to suppose that here they burned their dead, which, it is well known, they were forbidden to do within the walls of their city.

The numerous beautiful fragments of Samian pottery were, perhaps, vessels used at their sacrifices, which were usually offered at the time of burning the body, and the Roman ritual enjoined the use of earthenware in their religious ceremonies. In this opinion I am borne out by the nature of the accompanying deposits of horns and bones of animals, wild boars' tusks, etc., probably those of the victims. Tacitus speaks of a solemn sacrifice of an ox, a sheep, and a boar, and it is remarkable that the remains here found answer this description.

A few feet southward of these I observed many fragments of burnt bricks, and a large quantity of ashes, among which were found a ring and numerous coins, decidedly Roman; but much defaced, apparently from the action of a fire. These appearances were confined to one spot, and I cannot account for them otherwise than by the supposition that it may have been a funeral pile. For it is related, on the authority of Virgil, that abundance of presents were thrown on to the body while on the burning pile, such as costly garments, perfumes, jewels, etc.; and it is likely that coins may have been of the number, and these alone would resist the action of the flames.

Of the numerous coins found, I have only seen two or three worth notice, and these were from another part of the ground. I have one of Antoninus Pius, in a fine state of preservation, on the reverse of which is a figure of Victory bearing a shield, inscribed VIC . GER. The other of Domitian; reverse, a figure of Plenty, bearing in her right hand a pair of scales, and on her left arm a cornucopia.

As far as my observation has gone, Roman remains are found in Southwark, usually at depths varying from 10 to 14 feet; and the reason that they were not discovered in other parts as well as on this spot is, I conceive, that the workmen have not attained sufficient depth. Here it was necessary to go to a greater depth for the extensive kitchens and cellars required for the above-named premises.

Yours, etc. WILLIAM TAYLOR.

[1832, *Part II.*, p. 17.]

According to promise (see *May magazine*, p. 400), I now send you sketches (Plate II.) of the most interesting of the articles named in my account of the Roman remains recently found in Southwark.

No. 1 is a small earthen vessel of a stone colour, very hard in its texture, the diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. There is a similar-shaped vessel in the British Museum, formed of a metallic substance, and suspended by three chains after the manner of a censer.

2. A globular-shaped vessel, the substance of which is of a pale stone-coloured earth, but the exterior dark brown. The height of this vessel is 7 inches, and it is remarkable for its slight make, the substance being barely the eighth of an inch in thickness. There appears to have been a small handle attached to the neck.

3. A fragment of a vase. Colour dark brown.

4. A small vase of slate coloured earthenware, diameter at the widest part $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

5. A copper key in a very fine state of preservation. Were it not for the decided Roman character of the lower part of this key, the form of the upper part would lead to the supposition that it was of the middle or Gothic age; but the best guide to forming a correct opinion is the depth at which it was found, and the accompanying deposits. It was found on the Roman level, and among Roman remains. It is about 3 inches in length; that part of the key containing the wards is placed horizontally to the shaft.

6. A vase similar to No. 4. I have fragments of several others differing a little in shape, the outlines of some peculiarly beautiful—these I suppose to be sepulchral.

7. A ring, probably of copper or brass, being much corroded. This was found among coins in a heap of ashes.

8. A fibula of copper or brass, perforated with a small hole at each end.

9. A brass pin, the head ornamented.

10. A very curious instrument of brass, beautifully finished. Similar ones have been found in lachrymatories; but this could not have been used for fluids, as that portion of it resembling a spoon is hollow only one way, that is, in the form a bent card would assume.

11. An instrument of brass, probably a stylus.

12. Is also a brass instrument.

13. A Roman bead or amulet, of a blue colour, scored on the surface.

14. A beautiful little vessel of the Samian pottery, imperfect.

15. A patera stamped with the potter's mark OF . IABIO . * the diameter is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

16. A cup of Samian ware, potter's mark OF . MOI.

17 and 18. Fragments of vases, found in constructing a sewer opposite the gates of St. Thomas's Hospital—these are of a pale stone colour. With them was found a beautiful fragment of a bowl-shaped Samian vessel, highly enriched with the most splendid ornament.

With the exception of the two last named, these remains were all found on or near the site of the tavern, at the north-east angle of St. Saviour's Church.

The fragments of Samian pottery are generally highly enriched, and it is worthy of a passing remark, that on one of the pieces found on the site of the tavern is a figure of Bacchus, bearing in his right hand a bunch of grapes, and on his head a basket of fruit. The figure, which is well drawn, is under a Roman arch, and would form a suitable device for any sculpture or decoration for the building which is now in progress.

Yours, etc. WILLIAM TAYLOR.

[1832, *Part II.*, p. 423.

In excavating for the construction of a large sewer, in the enlarged line of road which has been formed by the demolition of the houses on the west side of the Borough High Street, a great number of human bones have been discovered at the depth of 8 feet under the surface, and a few yards south of the front of the Town Hall. They are evidently the remains of bodies which have been interred with Christian rites, as they lie east and west. There is little doubt but the place has been part of the cemetery of the ancient church of St. Margaret, from which this part of the borough received the name of St. Margaret's Hill. . . . I observed in the gravel thrown out some few fragments of the well-known Roman roof-tile, turned up into a ridge about an inch deep on either edge. A very beautiful little cup of the red Samian ware, having a flat over-lapping rim, elegantly embossed with ivy leaves, was found in the excavated soil. It is now in the

* This cannot be the reading. The Roman potters' marks are often very imperfectly impressed. OFFICINA LABIONIS is probably intended by the abbreviation. Mr. Taylor will find his I an L.

museum of George Gwilt, Esq., F.S.A. After all that has been said of the magnitude of Roman Southwark, I am inclined to think it was always suburban to London; that here were perhaps clusters of villas, a temple on the site of St. Saviour's Church, and numerous family sepulchres in the line of the Watling Street way. Perhaps also an *ustrinum* for burning the dead.

Yours, etc. SUTHRIENSIS.

[1833, *Part I.*, pp. 401, 402.]

The recent continuation of the Great Sewer in Southwark having afforded an opportunity for prosecuting my researches into the Roman antiquity of that spot, I beg leave to communicate the result, which to me has been highly satisfactory, as it places Mr. Gwilt's conjectures formed some years since, of a Roman cemetery in Southwark, almost beyond the reach of a doubt, and further shows the extent of it in the direction north and south.

The work commenced near the Town Hall, and then proceeded southward to Union Street, and northward to York Street, at which points the sewer joins those already constructed. After the most careful investigation, I can safely pronounce the discoveries made throughout the line of work to be either of sacrificial or sepulchral remains, such as fragments of urns, pateræ, lachrymatories, and the ornamented pottery known as the Samian ware, with some few perfect specimens.

In the accompanying engraving (Plate II.), fig. 1 is a cinerary vase found near York Street.

It rarely happens that there is opportunity for minute investigation of the contents of these vessels, as the workmen almost invariably throw them out, with the hope of finding treasure; but on examining the small portion of earth that remained in this vessel, I found fragments of burnt bones and a small piece of a glass lachrymatory; hence I conclude it sepulchral. Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 were found near it. Fig. 2 is a vessel about 5 inches in height, curiously pinched into form, apparently by the thumb and finger of the potter; it has the appearance that an earthen vessel would assume if brushed over with black-lead.

Fig. 3 is a vessel of stone-coloured earth about 5 inches in height.

Fig. 4, a small vessel of glass. The last two are usually denominated lachrymatories.

Fig. 5, a small vessel of earthenware, about 4 inches in height, colour intense brown.

Fig 6 is a fragment of a curiously formed vase; the surface appears to have been gilt.

These articles were all found near York Street, where the first indication of sepulture occurred. All the discoveries northward of this appear to be sacrificial; these have been detailed in a former communication, in which, however, I omitted the very curious vessel

marked Fig. 7. The drawing will materially assist the description ; it consists of three small vessels of earthenware attached at the bottom to a hollow ring of the same material, fluids poured into any one of which would rise into the other two, passing through the ring at bottom. I am at a loss for a conjecture as to the use of this singular shaped vessel ; but if I were to hazard an opinion, I should say that it was used at a sacrifice. Judging from the accompanying deposits, its triune figure would suggest the idea that it had been used in some mystic ceremony ; perhaps some of your correspondents can offer a more probable conjecture.

Figs. 8 and 9 are vessels found near the Town Hall ; these are of a pale stone-coloured earth.

Fig. 10 is the upper part of an earthen vase, fine in texture, and most beautifully formed on the lathe. This, from its resemblance to Fig. 1, may be considered cinerary.

Fig. 11 is a bead or amulet of a vitreous substance. A similar one was found among sepulchral remains on Chartham Downs.

Fig. 12, a beautiful vessel of the Samian ware, most elegantly formed and enriched on the rim with a leaf much used in the decorations of the Roman pottery. Mr. Gwilt has a similar one in his collection : both were found near the Town Hall.

Fig 13 is a fragment of black pottery, the pattern formed by a glazed black on a dull ground of the same colour.

Fig. 14 is a fine specimen of Samian ware, found near St. Thomas's Hospital. The fragment from which the restored drawing, as shown on the plate, was made, formed about two-thirds of the vessel. The numerous highly ornamented fragments found during the bridge works appear to have formed part of such vessels ; these I consider to have been used for sacrificial purposes, having invariably found such fragments more abundant where there were remains of animals, such as tusks of the wild boar, horns of the goat, sheep, etc.

Throughout the whole line of works these vessels have been invariably found broken, but the pieces to form the whole vessel have sometimes been discovered.

[1833, *Part I.*, p. 482.]

Some other articles (adds our Southwark correspondent) have been subsequently found in Tooley Street, opposite St. Olave's Church, while digging for the foundation of a building. Among them is a large shallow vessel with a broad rim turned downwards, crossing which is a channel to pour off the contents ; the letters ALBINI are stamped on the rim. Many fragments of such vessels have been noticed during the progress of the London Bridge work ; all of which appear worn by trituration : they were probably used as mortars. On the same spot I obtained fragments of the red Samian ware, which when joined formed a cup and two patinæ.

[1833, *Part II.*, p. 194.]

Mr. Vincent Somerville informs us that many interesting relics of Roman pottery have recently been discovered in making a sewer opposite St. Olave's Church, Tooley Street. The most remarkable of these, according to the sketch forwarded to us, are two considerable fragments of bowls of the Samian ware, one of the small cups forming two convex curves on the outer side. We doubt the correctness of the potters' marks, as transcribed. Thirteen Saxon and four Roman coins were at the same time discovered.

[1835, *Part I.*, p. 82.]

In the burial-ground of the Dissenters' Chapel, in Deveril Street, New Dover Road, which is situated about 200 yards south-west of Kent Street, a part of the line of the ancient Watling Street, Roman urns, lacrymatories of glass, and other vessels, are found almost on every occasion when the ground is opened for a fresh interment. A very perfect and elegantly formed urn of grey pottery, 8 inches high, 7 inches in diameter at the top, and 3 at the bottom, containing calcined bones, evidently carefully separated from the embers of the funeral pile, has recently been discovered. Mr. Martin, an undertaker, who resides near the chapel, has numerous articles of similar antiquity in his possession, found on the same spot, and among them several fragments of highly polished bronze mirrors, which have apparently been purposely broken at the interment of the ashes of the females to whom they had probably belonged. These remains decidedly mark the site of a Roman or Romano-British burial-ground.

In the excavations for the houses in the new street from London Bridge to the Bank [*ante*, pp. 191, 212], Roman remains have not been wanting, though not so numerous as might have been expected; perhaps, from the circumstance that this place was included in the site of an open space, appropriated to a Roman forum, to which the Saxon East Cheap, or market, succeeded. The workmen have found several of the beads, of a semi-opaque, porcelain-like substance, commonly called Druid beads; and at the corner of Clement's Lane [*ante*, p. 215], immediately contiguous to the church, at the depth of 7 feet, a Roman floor, formed of their favourite compost, *tesseratum*, or pounded tile and lime, might a few days since be observed; also fragments of walls, composed of rag stone and Roman brick; a well,* neatly stined; and, at the same time, several coins of Vespasian, and much fractured Samian ware, were discovered. A fragment of the latter, in our Correspondent's possession, is ornamented with grotesque heads, representing *personæ*, or stage masks employed by the Roman actors. This adds another

* Numerous Roman wells have been discovered in the recent excavations near East Cheap. [*Ante*, p. 206.] The Romans evidently availed themselves of the fine springs with which the substrata of London abound.

to the numerous instances of Christian churches in London standing on foundations of Roman buildings, and indicating that their sites had been pre-occupied by pagan temples ; on which subject the reader may consult the "Ecclesiastical History" of the Venerable Bede, lib. i., cap. 30.*

A. J. K.

[1835, *Part II.*, p. 303.]

In the Dissenters' burial-ground, Deveril Street, New Dover Road (at which place we have noticed the discovery of numerous funeral urns, and some curious *specula* or mirrors, *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. iii., pp. 82, 303), a few days since was discovered a large vessel of imperfectly baked clay, of the amphora kind, having a *pointed* bottom, and being about 5 feet in circumference : within this vessel was placed a sepulchral urn, containing ashes, etc. The large vessel was probably used for pouring wine or other liquid on the funeral pile, for extinguishing the fire.

[1840, *Part I.*, pp. 191, 192.]

The governors of St. Thomas's Hospital having determined to proceed with the rebuilding of that edifice (the north wing of which has been lately rebuilt), have pulled down the south wing of the outer or western quadrangle, and on clearing the ground for the foundation of the new building, a Roman pavement of the common red tesserae, surrounded by walls of flint and rubble, with courses of Roman tiles, has been discovered, at a depth of 20 feet from the level of the High Street. The pavement measured about 20 feet by 12 ; the tesserae were embedded on concrete, about 6 inches thick, under which was a layer of chips of stone. On removing the foundations of the walls, they were found to rest on piles, the soil being sand. When we saw these remains, great part of what was originally discovered had been destroyed ; but we were informed that on the north side there were the jambs of a doorway, and on the west side a continuation of the buildings. Some of the tiles in the walls were red, and some of a bright yellow. Mr. Field, the architect, we are informed, is in possession of an earthenware lamp, which was discovered here.

Not far from this spot, viz., in St. Saviour's churchyard, partly on the site of St. Saviour's Grammar School, and partly under an adjoining house, there is a tessellated pavement of a handsome pattern ; and in the churchyard, nearly opposite to the school, we have seen at the bottom of a grave a narrow Roman pavement, of the common red tesserae, running from north-east to south-west, apparently a footpath.

[* This paragraph, it will be observed, relates to London in Middlesex.]

Sussex.

AVISFORD.

[1817, *Part I.*, p. 464.]

Some labourers digging in a field at Avisford, near Arundel, on the estate of Sir W. Houston, lately discovered some feet below the surface a flat stone, which proved to be the lid of a sarcophagus, in the centre of which was deposited a highly-finished sepulchral urn, containing the ashes of a burnt human body, and round it were placed twenty earthen utensils, in the shape of cups and saucers, together with two pair of Roman sandals, regularly covered with brass nails in a decayed state. This relic of antiquity likewise held three jugs and a lachrymatory. Two small vessels, apparently lamps, were placed on a projecting edge at each end of the sarcophagus, and two earthen candlesticks.

BIGNOR.

[1811, *Part II.*, p. 183.]

An entire Roman bath has been discovered in a field at Bignor, near Petworth, with a tessellated pavement in perfect preservation. The bath is of a hexagonal form, surrounded with seats; in the centre is a metallic pipe; the bottom of the bath is about 2 feet below the pavement, and 5 feet wide; the tessellated floor represents various figures in dancing attitudes, most beautifully wrought. In digging further, a dolphin, and various other antiquities of the most costly materials, were found. A Roman road has also been discovered, leading through the field.

[1811, *Part II.*, p. 515.]

I have taken up my pen to communicate to you a recent discovery of a very beautiful specimen of the Roman tessellated pavement, at Bignor, in this county; situated in a field of a respectable yeoman, of the name of Tupper, who is the proprietor. It was found on the 18th inst. (July) with the plough, in preparing the land for a turnip crop. The field is called Oldbury, from the Saxon Eldburghen; a name which, to the eye of the antiquary, will sufficiently attest its claim to the *res gestæ Romanorum*, and which the Saxons generally affixed to our Roman stations. The field is situated about a quarter of a mile from the Roman trackway, which goes by the name of Stone Street, from the Saxon Steinrassen. The approach to this station is by a trackway or *diverticulum*, from the line of the Roman road, excavated from the slope of the hill, observable at about 100 feet from the descent of the apex, and which, forming a crescent to the station, entered the line of the Stone Street about West Burton. It has been accurately traced to Hardham, through a

Roman fort, to Pulborough, Billingshurst, Oakley, Woodcote, Dorking churchyard, and to London; and which is now distinguished by the name of West Ermin Street.

The portion of the Lithostroton which is discovered consists of an apartment, in the centre of which is a small hexagonal vapour-bath, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide from the outward stone coping, forming six seats, with two steps to the arena or basement, only 2 feet 4 inches wide, in the centre of which is a leaden pipe or flue. The stone coping of the bath is in very thin slabs, laid on terras mortar, with fine pounded brick, of a soft quality, like the Bath-stone, very neatly worked. The tessellated border of the beautiful fillet, Roman pattern, is composed of white, black, red, and grey tesserae, alternate with white and black lines; then the rectangular square pattern, bounded by two lines of white and black; which fillet encircles an hexagonal compartment of white tesserae, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter; in which is tastefully portrayed a Bacchante, or dancing woman, composed of tesserae of blue and green glass, purple, red, blue, white, and black, of other kinds of tesserae; which compartment has its equal on each side the bath. This spot will be immediately covered in, to prevent the idle curiosity of persons mutilating the remains. Several small removals of the upper coating of the earth have been made at the distance of 30, 20, and 10 feet from the bath, which exhibit very fine specimens of the Roman tessellated pavement. One in particular has discovered a neat ornament of a dolphin, in a square compartment, evidently connected with the other parts of the bath, and which will lead in all probability to another suite of baths. Roman bricks of various sizes, some of the blue kind, with a considerable quantity of rubble stone, fragments of the fine red Samian vessels, and other Roman pottery, with decorated plaster of the walls of the apartments, are found all over the field. The ruins of this station extend, at a considerable distance, to a field called the town or common field, which, if explored, would doubtless bring to light many curious vestigia.

[1812, *Part II.*, p. 437.]

The tessellated pavement discovered last year at Bignor, in Sussex, was covered with earth to preserve it during the winter. It has been lately opened again, and the surrounding land dug up, for the purpose of further discovery. A series of apartments are now exposed, all paved with beautiful mosaic, the most part of it in the highest state of preservation, and exhibiting, perhaps, the best specimen of the kind in this country. The various figures are well defined and delineated; some of them very beautiful, particularly an eagle with a Ganymede, a pheasant, a dolphin, and some others. Walls are erecting on the ancient foundations, the ruins furnishing materials, so that the plan of the building may be tolerably traced.

[1845, *Part II.*, pp. 122-124.]

Numerous examples of mosaic pavements of Roman temples, villas, and baths of various periods have been found in Britain, but none superior and few equal to those which were laid open in the year 1811, at Bignor, near Petworth, in Sussex.

The pavements at Bignor may vie with anything discovered at Pompeii, and are probably not inferior in antiquity.

Upwards of thirty years having elapsed since the discovery of these beautiful vestiges of Roman art, I made a journey to Bignor, in the month of August of the last year, expressly to ascertain in what condition the pavements at that place were, and if any care were still taken for their preservation.

To those who may not have an opportunity of visiting the spot or consulting the beautiful and richly illustrated work in gigantic folio, by the late Samuel Lysons, Esq., on the Bignor pavements,* some general description of them may not be unacceptable.

The foundations of the magnificent Roman villa at Bignor lie a quarter of a mile east from the church, and occupy a rising ground facing the south-west division of the horizon. The counterscarp or corresponding elevation over against this eminence is Bignor Hill,† a bold and lofty height, one of the chain of South Downs, over which runs a fine specimen of Roman highway called the Devil's Bank, pointing in the direction of Chichester and Arundel.

I shall not pause here to examine whether Bignor has any pretensions to be the Ad Decimum or any other station mentioned by Antoninus; suffice it to remark that a tradition exists in the neighbourhood that the Bury and Town Fields, in which the Roman remains were discovered, were the site of a town in remote ages, and the Saxon appellations *bypix* and *tune* have embalmed, as it were, a fact which subsequent discoveries elucidated. The villa at Bignor, however ancient itself, stands on foundations of a still earlier period, not corresponding with the direction of its walls.

The apartments, corridors, or *crypto-porticus* of the villa at Bignor surround the four sides of a parallelogram, the interior dimensions of which are about 230 feet from east to west, 120 from north to south; the eastern range of rooms is not precisely square with the other sides, but inclines slightly westward. The centre was an open court. The entrance to this court was in the centre of the southern range of chambers. An outward wall, at least 500 feet in length from the eastward, by 200 in depth southward, inclosed the buildings, the grand entrance to this outer boundary facing the east, so that the villa at Bignor bore some analogy in its arrangement to a Roman

* Mr. Lysons also published "Accounts of the Roman Remains at Bignor," in Vols. xviii. and xix. of the "Archæologia."

† At the foot of this eminence is a place bearing the appellation Cold Harbour.

camp, considering the outward wall as its vallum, and the villa itself its *prætorium*.

That it was really the residence of the Roman pro-prætor in the province of the Regni is conjectured with great probability. It was at an easy distance from the capital Regnum, or Chichester, and within two bow-shots of the Roman road over the Downs. The foundations of upwards of forty separate rooms are extant at Bignor, and of a crypto-porticus, or corridor, running all round the interior area, and affording a transit, under cover, from one apartment to the other. At the south-east side of the square were the hypocaust and frigidarium, for sweating and bathing after the well-known Roman manner. Over the north-west corner of the quadrangle at Bignor a row of ash-trees had grown, and much dilapidated the pavements which had there decorated the building. One probably represented the four seasons; the head of Winter only remained, that of a figure wrapped in a mantle, and holding a leafless branch. On the north side of the building, a little west of the centre, was probably the triclinium, or grand banqueting-room, a spacious apartment, 30 feet by 19, in which is a mosaic, representing the eagle of Jupiter carrying off Ganymede, nymphs, and other ornaments. In the centre of this chamber was a hexagonal cistern, 20 inches deep, with a pipe at the bottom to carry off its fluid contents. To what use it was appropriated has not been ascertained; perhaps libations were made on great occasions, and this was the mode of getting rid of the liquid poured on the floor. This was the pavement first discovered.

Another spacious apartment, with a semicircular end, has a mosaic, the head and shoulders of Venus, the head surrounded by a light-blue nimbus, a mark of divinity, a distinction since adopted for Christian saints; and little winged genii or pigmies, habited as gladiators, completely displaying the costume and arms of the *Retiarii* and *Secutores*, their swords, shields, tridents, and nets. They are attended by the *Rudiarii*, those veteran manumitted champions who, with wands in their hands, acted as marshals of the field, and directed the combats. Near the baths is a fine pavement, with the head of Medusa.

In one room is a singular and, I believe, very rare appendage of a Roman dwelling—a *caminus*, or chimney, for an open fire on a hearth. It is a small semicircular niche, not more than 2 feet in width, paved with huge square tiles.

I am now to speak of the present state of these precious and extraordinary remains.

The Ganymede pavement, that of the seasons, that of the gladiators, and of the Medusa, are still protected by the four thatched sheds erected over them by the late Mr. Hawkins, of Bignor Park. The highly interesting portion which showed the economy of the hypocaust, its sudatory chambers and cold bath, is in a sad condition of ruin; uncovered, exposed to the snows, the rains, and all the variations of our rude winters, in a short time not a vestige of it will remain.

The square bricks which formed the supporters of the floors of the hypocaust are still piled up in the places where they were found, but the mortar has been washed from their joints, and they are probably by this time in indiscriminate confusion. In short, the baths at Bignor are fast becoming a mere hole or pit. Among the architectural fragments of the villa are the bases and capitals of some stone columns of the Tuscan order, of about 12 inches in diameter.

Innumerable tiles, scored in the well-known Roman manner, collected from the ruins, are piled in a heap near the hedge, west of the villa. Some staghorns, a dagger, portions of bronze ornaments, and pottery, are preserved by Mrs. Tupper, the farmer's wife, who shows the pavements.

Some of the tiles are marked with the letters L. C. C. in a cursive character, and Lysons mentions the letters T. R. and E. R. as being formed in mosaic work in one of the apartments. These are probably the initials of the maker of the tiles and the workers in mosaic. The whole style of the tessellations at Bignor, and their coincidence with those of a mosaic discovered in 1708 at Avenches, in Switzerland, *Aventicum Helvetiorum*, a place peculiarly patronised by Vespasian and Titus, made Lysons come to the conclusion that the Bignor pavements were of their age, the first century of our era. Moreover, some of the ornaments precisely resemble those of pavements found at Pompeii, which we know was overwhelmed in ashes from an eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.

A. J. K.

BLATCHINGTON.

[1818, *Part II.*, pp. 107, 108.]

Some interesting Roman remains have been discovered about a quarter of a mile from the village of Blatchington, near Brighthelmston, on the estate of Lord Abergavenny, in the present occupation of Mr. Hudson.

The site is on an elevated ground, commanding an extensive range of the coast. A barley crop is now on the site, and when harvested, it is the intention of the proprietor to open the ruins, of considerable extent, observable by the stunted growth of the crop in the line of the foundation walls. Ploughs have occasionally been broken on the spot, turning up from time to time fragments of the ruins, mortar with pounded brick, the obvious indication of Roman work; fragments of bricks, and flue-tiles of a bath or sudatory. Some of these having been sent to me for inspection, I found them of the same kind as those I discovered at Oldfield, near the village of Bignor, several years before I explored that villa. By the appointment of Mr. Hudson, in company with Prince Hoare, Esq., Brother Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and Honorary Secretary for Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Academy, I visited the spot.

On opening the ground over the ruins, I was satisfied, by various Roman indicia, beyond a doubt, of its similar claim to the one at Bignor.

The discovery will be found of some importance in finally deciding on the disputed situation of the *Portus Adurni*, mentioned in the "*Notitia Provinciarum*" of the Lower Empire. See the following entry—"Præpositus numeri exploratorum Portu-Adurni, sub dispositione viri spectabilis, comitis littoris Saxonici per Britanniam." Comment. in *Notitia*, Guidus Pancirolus, cap. 38. The ruins are evidently those of a *Mansio ad Portam Adurni*, of a præfect or prætor, situated opposite the old mouth of the river Adur, at Alderton, which at the Roman period extended, by probable computation, about 3 miles from Alderton, overwhelmed by the periodical encroachment of the sea by the south-west storms; now opposed by the accumulation of the beach since the erection of the jetties, or groins, at Brightelmston. The track-way to the old harbour is still observable on the west of the villa, overlooking Angleton, used as a cart-road to the cultivated lands. On the north it proceeded considerably to the left of the Devil's Dyke, or Poor Man's Wall, on the descent of the old road to Claydon, where a few years since, in the front of the parsonage-house, a Roman bath was discovered; thence in a straight line on the present track of the turnpike road to Stone Pound, to the Friar's Oak, to the right of John's Common, where the Roman road is for a mile extant, and then obliterated by the cultivated lands, the materials of which have, from time to time, served for the repair of the turnpike road, distant about a quarter of a mile; leaving Cuckfield $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the west, it then points to Ardenly or Ardingley in the old maps, near a farm called Cold Harbour,* 4 miles beyond the former; thence taking a direct course into Kent, leaving East Grinstead to the west, to Botley Hill, where the late Mr. Stephen Vine, an ingenious intelligent schoolmaster, had carefully traced it, who at that place discovered some Roman remains, which inclined him to fix a station there; from thence it pointed straight to, and joined, the great primary Watling Street road to Rochester.

CHICHESTER.

[1805, *Part II.*, pp. 926, 927.]

On the site of the market-house in North Street, in this city, was discovered, anno 1731, a stone sunk in the ground with the following inscription:

"[N]eptuno et Minervæ templum [pr]o salute do[mus] divinæ [ex] auctoritate Tiberii Claud[ii] [Co]gidubni r[egis] lega[ti] aug[usti] in Brit[annia]. [Colle]gium fabror[um] et qui in eo . . . d[e] s[uo] d[ant] donante aream [Clem]ente Pudentini fil[io]. [Huebner, p. 18.]

* Cold Harbour is a name which frequently occurs on the line of Roman roads. There is a place of this name near a British or Belgic entrenchment, not far distant from Okeley, on the Stone Street, or West Ermin Street. It may possibly be derived from the Celtic or Old British *Coll* and *Harbour*, the head of the entrenchment.

This stone is in possession of his Grace the Duke of Richmond, at Goodwood. Chichester was early in the possession of the Romans, which accounts for the great number of coins which are dug up in every part of the city. The Broil, a common on which barracks are now erected, about a mile north of the city, is the site of a Roman encampment, and the fosse and vallum still remain.

At Fishbourne, a village about a mile west of Chichester, was discovered about the 20th March, this year, in digging by the roadside for the foundation of a house, a tessellated pavement about 13 feet 6 inches in width. One end runs under a hedge, so that the length has not been ascertained. In the middle is a space about 2 feet in diameter, where the workmen found part of the base of a column. A fine spring immediately under the floor gives probability to the supposition of its having been intended for a bath. It is paved with small black and white stones, but no figures or anything were found to convey any idea of the time or purpose of its erection, except two small copper coins of Vespasian. Several pieces of Roman cement, however, were picked up on the other side of the road, so that if the discovery were followed up with spirit, some valuable pieces of antiquity might, perhaps, be found.

[1830, *Part II.*, p. 228.]

In the month of September, 1819, whilst the workmen were employed in digging out the soil of a field called Palace Field, in this city, for the purpose of forming a basin for the canal, a considerable number of remains of Roman pottery, of various forms and sizes, together with some hand-mills, apparently used for grinding corn, a glass vessel of a square shape, inclosed in lead, and containing ashes, and a variety of other curiosities of a similar nature, were brought to light. But the most remarkable discovery was made by one of the workmen striking his spade against a coarse earthen urn, about 2 feet from the surface, which was broken by the collision, and proved to contain about 700 silver Roman imperial coins, in the finest state of preservation.

[1831, *Part I.*, p. 75.]

In making a grave lately in St. Pancras churchyard, Chichester, at the depth of 5 feet was found a piece of fine red Samian pottery, 8 inches by 7, being part of a circular basin of 9 inches diameter. Mr. King, the possessor, who has been collecting for twenty years pottery of this kind found in that city, has met with fragments of the same pattern, but in such small pieces as to be unable until now to make out the fanciful ornaments of the Romanized Britons. The following he describes as all in relief; the first border consists of twenty tablets with a tassel between each, resting on a zigzag border, to which are appended five festooned fringed

semicircles with tassels between ; in the semicircle of the first and second are a swan in each, in the next a star, and in the two last a dolphin in each ; next follows a foliated border of nearly one hundred leaves wreathed round the basin, with a zigzag thread over and under ; close to and beneath this border is represented a lion combating a wild boar, both in a salient position and facing each other, the drawing and character very spirited ; and, in order to repeat this combat in another part of the pottery, ornaments of bulrushes are interposed, on which are standing small birds admirably delineated ; the embellishments finish by a sharp and rich border of the chain ornament, connected by a display of fine chevron work.

[1838, *Part I.*, p. 303.]

At St. Pancras burial-ground at Chichester, which is parallel with the Arundel Road, sepulchral Roman remains continue to be exhumed from time to time. Mr. Thomas King has recently rescued many interesting objects, which were disinterred on this spot, from destruction ; among which is a *præfericulum* of light yellow clay, of most elegant shape and outline, precisely similar to one procured from the same spot last summer by this gentleman, and two Samian vessels quite perfect. The potters' marks on these are CRACVNA. F. and REBVRRI'S OF, the S reversed.

[1852, *Part I.*, pp. 373, 374.]

The recent discovery of two Roman urns must serve to convince any one that St. Olave's church, Chichester, was built on the site of a Roman temple, and it is most probable that the urns which contained the ashes of the dead were deposited under the arch.

In the *Sussex Express* of last week. "In the early part of the week the workmen employed in the alterations of this ancient church found built into the upper part of the wall, at the east end, two Roman urns, which are at present in the possession of Messrs. Johnson and Inkson, the churchwardens of the parish."

W. WATKINS, Rector.

DENSWORTH.

[1858, *Part I.*, p. 532.]

During the past winter, a shepherd pitching his fold in a field at Densworth, struck his crowbar against what proved to be the covering-stone of a stone cist, and thus accidentally led the way to discoveries which have proved to be of considerable importance. The Rev. Henry Smith, who resides near the spot, immediately exerted himself not only to save what had been found, but also to institute researches to ascertain the full extent and character of the remains. Up to the present time his efforts have been rewarded by the discovery of a second cist, and fragments of an inscription upon

Purbeck stone. Within the cists were sepulchral deposits, very much resembling those discovered a few years since at Avisford, near Arundel [*ante*, p. 324], which form the subject of an engraving, by the late Mr. King, in the "Collectanea Antiqua." Among the miscellaneous collection of objects in the latter were lamps, sandals, and a variety of earthenware vessels. Some beautiful glass urns and bottles are among the most striking of the Densworth remains. The urns contained the burnt bones of the defunct. One of them was closed by an inverted long-necked lachrymatory, stamped at the bottom with the maker's name. There are no lamps, as in the Avisford cist; but it is somewhat curious that the little niches upon which they stood are represented in one of the Densworth cists by an imperfectly-formed stand cut in one of the angles. No sandals in a perfect state have been found; but the nails with which the soles were studded remain oxidised together, the leather having entirely perished.

The fragments of the inscription are among the most remarkable of the objects. The letters are well cut, and indicate a period somewhat anterior to the time of Severus. The only coin that has as yet been found is of the Emperor Hadrian.

The cemetery is situated close to the inner side of some very extensive earthworks which run on the eastern side almost close to Chichester. The Rev. H. Smith is making a survey of them, with a view to ascertain their extent towards the west. They have been hitherto but little noticed, and they are not very obviously explainable by ancient systems of military fortifications. It has been suggested that they may be land-boundaries.


DUNCTON.

[1812, *Part I.*, p. 381.]

A few days since, the remains of a Roman bath were discovered by some men ploughing near Duncton, Sussex. By the flues which are remaining, it is conjectured to have been a vaporium or sudatorium. It is situate about two miles westward of the celebrated bath discovered last year at Bignor, and seven from Arundel.

[1816, *Part II.*, pp. 17-20.]

The discovery of the Roman pavement of Bignor, in Sussex, having proved a source of considerable profit to the owner of the land, induced a farmer in the neighbouring parish of Duncton to permit his children to search on the side of a field, in a spot where the plough was unable to work, from the foundations of buildings being near the surface of the ground. This research (which was continued by the direction of the Earl of Egremont, the proprietor of the estate) led to the discovery of the remains of which I have

sent you a correct plan. (See Plate II.) The building extended farther to the west; for, on digging on that side, a hard bed of mortar is found, and the foundation of the wall extends farther to the north. I was fortunate in taking the plan soon after the remains were laid open; for, since that time, ignorance and wantonness have made great havoc, in tearing up the pavement, throwing down the piers, and breaking the tiles. It consists of the remains of a hypocaust; the building standing exactly north and south. At the south end is a room paved with tile, 6 feet 6 inches by 8 feet 4 inches; the walls withinside, 17 inches high, and nearly level with the ground withoutside: this was a room to heat the flue. The fireplace is on the north side of the room, and on that side the floor is raised 6 inches, forming two square divisions, one 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet, the other 2 feet 4 inches by 3 feet, leaving a passage between of 20 inches in breadth. In a line with this passage is the fireplace for heating the flues. This fireplace is 7 feet 5 inches long, by 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The tiles it is paved with are much injured by the fire. The flues are divided into two divisions; the west side of the south division remains uncovered. The piers of the three uncovered flues are formed of tiles, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 9 inches square, each pier containing seven tiles. Two of the flues or openings are 9 inches wide, and 12 inches high; the third is 6 inches wide, and 15 inches high. The covering of the flues is formed with tiles (11 inches by $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size). In some parts there are two tiles, one on the other, with mortar between (the mortar is formed, as usual in Roman buildings, of lime and brick rubbish, coarsely powdered); the whole covering being 13 inches thick. On the top of the flues is a drain of semi-circular tiles, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with a large square tile at the mouth (above this was the tessellated pavement; fragments of painted cement are found, but no tessellæ). Over one of these uncovered flues is a perpendicular cavity, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 inches, lined with tile; with a groove in the end tiles 1 inch wide. The tile forming the top of the flue, on which the cavity descends, is of this form , the plain side uppermost; being, in all probability, a contrivance to regulate the heat, as the drain on the top was to carry off all moisture. When the remains were first laid open, the bases of the piers of the other, or uncovered part of the south division, were to be seen; they were tiles 11 inches square; parts of four of the piers were standing; the whole number was seventeen. The north division contained twelve piers; eight are perfect, being 2 feet 3 inches high, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square; the bottom tile 11 inches square; each pier consists of thirteen tiles, with mortar between each tile. The floor under the piers is formed of double course tiles, 11 inches by $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with mortar between; and under the lower course the floor was covered with a black substance, resembling soot or powdered wood coal, near an inch in thickness. North of the flues

is a compartment, 4 feet 8 inches by 8 feet in size. Beyond this compartment is a circular sinking in the earth, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter; but whether it has been a compartment of that form or a well is uncertain; adjoining to it, on the east side, is a square division or compartment, 3 feet by 4 feet 2 inches in size, and 11 inches deep; the bottom and sides formed of tiles; the side tiles fastened with cramps: within this square compartment was a curved division, formed of mortar and tiles (now destroyed). On the west side of this square is a piece of 2-inch lead pipe, passing through the wall, and communicating with a compartment of three sides; the south and east sides straight lines, the other of a curved form, considerably more than the fourth part of a circle; the bottom very neatly paved with tiles, the sides formed with cement, having a moulding of the same material all round the bottom of the compartment; on the east side a double moulding, apparently to break the fall of water. The remains of the sides are from 18 inches to 2 feet 4 inches in height; the largest diameter, 3 feet 10 inches. When first discovered, this compartment was covered with a bed of solid mortar, nearly 2 feet in thickness. The walls of these remains are from 18 inches to 2 feet in thickness. The dotted line shows the form of the line of the wall on the west side of the building.

1. Room for heating the flues, paved with tile.
2. Flues remaining covered over on the top.
3. Perpendicular cavity.
4. Flues, the covering gone; the piers marked with double squares were perfect.
5. Compartment, not paved.
6. Circular sinking in the earth.
7. Square compartment, paved with tile, with a curved division, now destroyed.
8. Lead pipe.
9. Compartment very neatly paved with tile, with a moulding of cement round the sides.
10. Divisions raised 6 inches above the floor.

Duncton is a small village, standing on the north side of the South Downs (about three miles from Petworth, in the county of Sussex). These antiquities stand about 140 yards north-east from the church, on a rising ground, with a gentle slope on the north and east sides, and a steep bank on the west (in the bottom is a fine spring of water); the south side is level, until you begin to ascend the Downs, which is not more than 400 or 500 yards distant. The situation is fine, commanding an extensive view from the west to the east. On the common, on the borders of the parish (near West Lands), is a large circular barrow; another near Fitz-Lee; with three more between Coats and Bignor Park; the middle one of the three small, the two end ones large, with a hollow or depression in the centre.

The Roman road, called the Stone Street, passes about two miles south-east from these remains. It leaves Chichester, the Regnum of the Romans, at the east gate, passing on the north side of Port Field, by Streetington (to which it gives name), and is the present highway to Halnaker. At the north end of Halnaker Street it crosses a high bank and ditch, called the Devil's Ditch : near a pond the present highway branches off to the right, to avoid the hill ; the Roman road runs nearly north-east over Halnaker Down ; on the east side of the Down, it enters the enclosures for a short distance, when it again falls into the present highway at Petworth, on the west side of Long Downs : leaving the Petworth Road, it passes on the north side of Long Down, and enters the woods to the north of Eartham village (and is a highway to Bignor) ; it enters the enclosed land, called Cumber, on the north side of Slinden. In many places the plough, and the custom of digging the headland for mould to lay under heaps of manure, has done it more injury in a few years than the wear of seventeen centuries ; but in one of the fields it is in fine preservation, and is about 30 feet in breadth. After quitting the enclosed lands, it gradually ascends to the verge of the Downs (which command a most beautiful and extensive prospect, both to the sea and inland). Near the ridge of the Downs are many barrows of a circular form, scattered by the road side ; in the year 1786 one of these barrows, called Hog's Barrow, was opened for materials to mend the roads, and the remains of several skeletons were found ; but, no person conversant in antiquities being present, nothing further was discovered. On the brow of the hill the Roman road crosses another low bank and ditch, and gently descends the north side of the Downs, passing a short distance from where the Roman tessellated pavement was discovered at Bignor, in July, 1811, in a direct line to Poleborough ; from thence it proceeded over North Heath, by Billingshurst, Oakley, and Stunstead, to which it gives name, to Dorking, etc. The old inhabitants of the place have a tradition, now nearly lost, that a large dragon had its den on Bignor Hill, and that marks of its folds were to be seen on the hill ; a relic of remote antiquity, and of Celtic origin. The name of a large farm, crossed by the road, called Cumber, appears to be derived from the same source ; as does the name of another farm near the road, called Glattin.

The low bank and ditch, crossed by the Stone Street, on the top of Bignor Hill, runs east and west for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, on the brow of the hill ; at the east end it forms an acute angle to the north, until it reaches the steep slope of the hill : near the place where it is crossed by the Stone Street is a break, that has the appearance of an entrance ; at the west end is a low bank and ditch, running north and south across a neck of land that unites two deep cwms, that indent the north and south sides of the hill. The whole of this district appears to have been disputed, inch by inch, at some early period, probably

prior to the Roman invasion, if we may judge by the number of barrows and entrenchments found on the Downs. About two miles south from hence is another high bank and ditch, called War Dyke, running nearly parallel with that on Bignor Hill. It passes west from the banks of the Arun through Houghton South Wood; where, in the year 1786, as some workmen were digging chalk near the bank, they found a large quantity of human bones, which appeared as if the bodies had been thrown into a hole in a confused manner. A short distance further to the west, in digging a pond near the bank, they found, about 2 feet under ground, an urn, containing fragments of human bones. A short distance to the north are several large barrows. On gaining the top of the hill, the bank and ditch pursues a westerly direction for near two miles, to the end of Houghton Rewel, where it is lost, except the high bank and ditch, called the Devil's Ditch, crossed by the Stone Street at Halnaker, be considered as a continuation of it. The Devil's Ditch pursues the same direction, and nearly in a line, and might have been a boundary of the Belgæ against the aboriginal inhabitants, when they invaded these coasts from Gaul. It is to be remarked, the ditches of all these banks are on the north side. The Devil's Ditch is to be traced a mile east of Halnaker, through Halnaker Park, by Waterbeach, through Goodwood Park and Fawley Wood, in a straight direction to Lavant, where it fell into the lines proceeding from Chichester, which proceeded from the east gate of Chichester, in a northerly direction, to within forty yards of the east side of the Roman camp on the Broil, by Summers Dale, to Ruemere, where it forms an acute angle, and proceeds west through Lavant Park, where it was joined by the Devil's Ditch; from Lavant Park it proceeds in a very high ridge to Stoke Common, where it forms an acute angle, and pursues a south direction for a short distance; when, forming another acute angle, it pursues a westerly direction through Stoke Park and Woods, in a straight line to Stunstead and Rowland's, or Roman's Castle.

From the north-west angle of the Broil camp a high ridge, with a ditch on the north side, runs west for more than a mile; when, forming an acute angle on Densworth Common, it proceeds south to the end of Fishbourn Harbour, half a mile to the west of the spot where the Roman tessellated pavement was discovered in the year 1805. The whole country, for many miles, appears to have been defended by entrenchments, in all probability the work of the Belgic Britons, and partly of the Romans, who might take advantage of the works of their predecessors; and such might have been the origin (at least the hint) of that much larger work, the Pict's Wall.

From the north gate of the city of Chichester another high bank proceeds, in a north-west direction, passing near the grounds called the Campus (which, until these few years, was used as a playground by the scholars of the Grammar School in Chichester). A few years

past, in digging through this bank, it was discovered to be an aqueduct, the water having been conveyed by earthen pipes, neatly fitted into each other.

Yours, etc. S.

LANCING DOWN.

[1828, *Part II.*, p. 631.]

During last spring, a Roman pavement was discovered on Lancing Down, near Worthing, by a Mr. Medhurst, buried beneath what appeared to be a large tumulus. On removing the earth, a gallery 40 feet square was laid open. In the midst of it is a room 10 feet square, the floor of which is a tessellated pavement in excellent preservation, but without painting or pattern. In the centre of the room were found a quantity of ashes; and among them, says Mr. Medhurst, "25 pieces of Roman, ancient British, and Saxon coin; on one side of the edifice 12 pieces of silver coin, no two pieces of which were alike, a considerable number of bracelets, rings, beads, styles, fibulæ, buckles, combs, and brooches, together with fragments of swords and arrows. Several graves are also to be seen, which contained vases, broken pottery of different kinds, with the ashes of the dead, rings, etc., that appeared to have been deposited with them."*

[1830, *Part II.*, pp. 17, 18.]

Having occasion to visit the western part of Sussex, I conceived a plan and drawing of some of the principal antiquities discovered would be acceptable to your readers.

Lancing Down, on which this pavement is situated, is one of the bold terminations of the Downs, which are so frequent on their southern side. The view is of a very extensive and interesting nature embracing a sea view from Beachy Head to the Isle of Wight, and the towns of Worthing, Littlehampton, and Portsmouth.

Mr. Medhurst, the discoverer of the pavement, was formerly a turner in Brighton, and still carries on the trade at Lancing. Before it was explored, he states this place appeared like a considerable tumulus, but on penetrating the centre about 4 feet, he came to the pavement. It is 40 feet square, with a room in the centre, 16 feet square, paved with coarse tesserae, and much damaged. In the centre of the room he found ashes, and twenty-five pieces of British and Roman coin. In different parts near the building several graves were opened, containing ashes, combs rudely carved, fibulæ, styles, and some pottery. The walls of the building are from 6 to 10 inches above the pavement, and are 3 feet in thickness; they are built of chalk and flint. The exterior of the inner one has been stuccoed. In the annexed plan, the graves are represented at the proportionate distance from the principal building.

[* This paragraph occurs also in 1828, *Part II.*, p. 256.]

The following is an exact account of the discoveries made in the neighbourhood of this edifice. The total number of graves opened amounted to thirty-five.

1. A ring of iron, part of a metal dagger, and some burnt bones.

2. A bath lined with hewn chalk, 2 feet deep, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter; an extremely curious brooch, represented in fig. D, was found on the edge.

3 and 4 contained some burnt bones, and a fibula.

5. Some burnt bones, and an elegant fibula, represented in the annexed plate, fig. C. The semi-diamond portions are similar to steel, and it is in very good preservation.

6 and 7 contained a small earthen vase, burnt bones, and two lachrymatories.

8 and 9, produced burnt bones and a comb.

10. This was by far the largest interment opened, and amply repaid the trouble. Under the head of a skeleton were the bones of a fowl, and on the breast a curious fibula, representing a cock, fig. B. It is of gold, enamelled with red and green, and has a singular appearance.

11 and 12, contained rings of wire, bone combs, brooches, and burnt bones.

13. Four small earthen vases, two brooches, burnt bones, and some broken pottery.

Fig. E is of bronze, and was found on the floor of the building.

Fig. A is a vase of baked earth, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, 10 over the brim and 12 at the widest part.

This curious discovery was made on Good Friday, 1823.

T. A.

PULBOROUGH.

[1824, *Part I.*, p. 194.]

Sussexiensis states, that about ten days ago some labourers discovered at Pulborough in Sussex four Roman pigs of lead. They were 22 inches in length, and 6 inches across the top, and 4 inches at the bottom. On each was impressed the following inscription, which is sent in the hope that some explanation may be furnished: ICLTR . PVT . BREXARG. [See Note 23.]

Warwickshire.

AULCESTER.

[1785, *Part II.*, p. 941.]

I have sent you an exact draught of a Roman urn lately found in Black Fields, near Aulcester, Warwickshire (see plate II., fig. 5). Tradition affirms this spot to have been the site of the Old *Alcestria*, which appears probable, as urns, coins, etc., are found here every

day: Leland says, in his time, "that many tokens of buildinges and bones of men be found in places without the towne, especially in *Blacke Field*." Near the urn was discovered a very curious well, which was destroyed by the incurious workmen.

PHOSPHORUS.

HALFORD BRIDGE.

[1792, *Part II.*, p. 985.]

At Halford Bridge, a village on the Roman Foss, situate at the southern extremity of Warwickshire, on the edge of Worcestershire, in November, 1790, as some labourers were at work close by the Foss road, they discovered three skeletons lying in a right position from south to north, with a bed of limestone above and below, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface; two of them very imperfect, seemingly laid in as chance directed, the other about 6 feet 2 inches, apparently deposited with great care; by his right side lay three weapons, of which the inclosed are sketches. Fig. 4, plate III., is a spear head, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Fig. 5 is almost in the shape of a small sword, 21 inches long in the socket; at the bottom has been a wooden handle, as part of it in a state of petrefaction is now discernible. Fig. 6 is a small weapon with an iron handle. They were all a great deal corroded. There were several other pieces of broken armour, too small to distinguish their original shape: they are undoubtedly of great antiquity.

A. B.

WILMECOTE.

[1841, *Part II.*, p. 81.]

An ancient well has been discovered at Wilmecote, in Warwickshire, in a quarry belonging to Mr. Mills, of Billesley, in which have been found horns of the elk, of great size, being from 2 to 3 feet long; some skulls of animals of the cow kind, with short horns affixed to them; together with some Roman pottery, and a few coins, one of which has the inscription of Lucius Aurelianus. The well is built in perfect symmetry, the stones with which it is constructed being regularly shaped, and the whole being similar to a barrel. It penetrates several solid rocks, and is 9 feet in diameter. Other wells of less size have been discovered in the vicinity; there have also been found some skeletons lying as if they had been deposited with great care.

Westmoreland.

BURTON.

[1776, pp. 310-311.]

Account of some remarkable foundations of walls, discovered on clearing a field called the Quamps, in Dalton Hall demense (near Burton, in Kendal), in the latter end of the year 1774.—The fence of the field, *a, a, a, a*, sketched out by the eye, is a hedge, as are all

the fences in that neighbourhood. The black lines, *b, b, b*, are the ground-plot of the walls. They were all thrown down, and grown over in many places with bushes; but the foundation-stones appeared to be laid by a line, and the two outside faces at about 3 yards distance. The intermediate spaces were filled up with any kind of cobbles, etc. These foundation-stones were large lime-stones, with which that part of the country abounds, and generally as big as two or three men could move; but no mortar was discovered, nor any marks of the hammer, except in some freestone ones at the corners. The dotted lines, *c, c, c* (drawn by the eye), had much the same appearance as the rest; but the marks of a regular wall were not so evident there; and I believe the plan does not notice all the vestiges that were remaining of this kind. The annexed dimensions are not very accurate, as they were taken after the stones were removed. There were openings like common gateways into these enclosures, and some stones were found at the edges of these gateways, near a foot under the soil, with holes in them, such as are now in use for gates to turn upon by means of iron pivots. There are two springs in the field at *d* and *e*. The spring *d* is never dry; that at *e*, not certain how it is. The area at *f* is low and soft in the bottom, as if it had been a receptacle for water.

The field containing these walls is pretty level, and on an eminence the most western of a number which had formerly been covered with an extensive oak wood, and which again were bounded to the eastward with large moors reaching many miles north and south. The field has as spacious a view to the west and south, as most which are found in this hilly country. But its prospect is obstructed by an eminence about a quarter of a mile to the south-west, on the top of which, some say, there were very lately a small mound and trench. Also, at about an equal distance to the north-east of these walls, were dug up, at the same time, the foundations of an inclosure of a like kind, near 40 yards square, divided into two unequal oblongs, and whose walls were above 3 yards thick. And in a line with this, the Quamps, and the mound, is an appearance of other walls, though of inferior dimensions, which are yet unmolested. There are remains of two old walls within a mile of these ruins, and one of them has a large enclosure adjoining to it that is moated round. These remains and tradition, however, discover nothing relating to them that is any way worth notice; neither is there the least tradition concerning the walls in question, which before their clearing away could appear only like common stone-heaps.

In digging up these ruins an old copper pan was found, some small stone mortars, and the fragments of near twenty pair of hand mill-stones, such as are intimated by the figure; but nothing else of the utensil kind. The millstones were of a very coarse freestone, and from a quarry about 3 miles distant; near 12 inches in diameter, and

picked and hollowed in the ordinary manner. In the bottom stone B was a hole, as at *n*, where it is supposed an iron spike was fastened for the top-stone A to turn upon, by the means of the orifice at *r*. Down the conical pipe *mr* the grain was supposed to fall between the stones, as from the common hopper. Some had a hole in the side of the top stone as at *o*; others were without, and others again were seemingly unfinished. On ploughing the field, nothing more was discovered deserving particular notice, except some ashes within the areas, and some burnt cobble-stones.—No remains of anything like fireplaces were found in these walls; and, indeed, their situation was rather too bleak for dwelling-houses.

KIRKBY THOR.

[1753, *p.* 270.]

There are two Roman inscriptions at a country village called Kirkby Thore in Westmoreland which never yet have been published: the one in a stone wall near the house of the Rev. Mr. Atkinson, rector of the church, beginning with ANTONIA, etc.; the other in a stone wall belonging to Dr. Green, against the town street, beginning with the words JOVI SERAPI, etc.; but I had not time to copy them, though legible enough. There are likewise other Roman letters and sculptures upon several of the door-lintels in the same town, which Mr. Horseley has omitted.

SEAT HILL.

[1738, *p.* 417.]

The above figure is a fragment of a Roman altar to Jupiter Serapis, lately taken out from the back of an oven at Kirkby Thor in Westmoreland, and now placed in a stone wall in the town street; by the asterisks placed at the top, the Deity having such a mark in the Egyptian ceremonies, the dedicator seems to have been an Egyptian, trained up at Rome; 'tis a small portable altar, and, I believe, the only one dedicated to that idol in Britain.

IOVI SERAPI
L. ALFENV. PATE[INUS].

The following is in the wall of a house at the same place, but the inscription is common though imperfect.

I.O.M.
.RIR.

The village is remarkable for a very considerable vestige of a Roman camp, and several other inscriptions and ruins, which I had not leisure to examine, but may be the subject of some future attempt. [Huebner, 74.]

Yours, CARLEOLENSIS.

Wiltshire.

[1838, *Part II.*, p. 495.]

I send you a sketch of an impression, lately made in wax, of a piece of Roman antiquity not long since found, among other remains, in North Wiltshire. The following letter from Dr. Barry, in whose possession I saw it, will explain to you his opinion and mine; which perhaps may have the effect of eliciting information, by provoking discussion, on a subject intimately connected with classical and antiquarian studies.

J. INGRAM.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I inclose you an impression of the piece of antiquity which you or some of your friends might be able to decipher. It seems to me to have been some kind of ticket for the delivery of corn. If it should prove, as you suppose, an admission to a theatre, many very important conclusions might be drawn from it.

"The original is of freestone, about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in thickness.

"Yours, etc. H. BARRY."

Tacitus often mentions the principal means by which the Roman emperors made themselves popular; that is, by distributing a *donativum militi*, and a *congiarium plebi*; but this was too extemporaneous a matter to require a ticket cut deliberately in freestone. I suspect, therefore, that the capital letter F combined with the number VI. marked the seat and division of a Roman amphitheatre, which were secured to some person or family of importance by the delivery of this permanent ticket of freestone.

The dotted line from *a* to *b* shows the diameter of the circle, which is exactly an inch, and cut very smoothly and regularly.

J. I.

BAYDON.

[1866, *Part II.*, p. 335.]

Mr. Carrington describes his examination of a Roman station, or Romano-British village, near Botley Copse, about a mile and a half from Baydon, which is situated upon the line of the Roman road from London to Cirencester. It is about three acres in extent, and was enclosed by a bank or dry wall. Within the area are hollows denoting the sites of buildings, the stones of which, as well as of the surrounding wall, have for a long time been dug for building materials for the village of Baydon. Roofing tiles of the thin sandstone of the coal formation lie scattered about, such as were commonly used by the Romans at Cirencester and at other places. Mr. Carrington states he found evidences that persons engaged in working iron had

occupied part of the site, and that they had used common bituminous coal for the purpose. This is an interesting fact, though coal has been found in other Roman sites. Among the implements in iron discovered, the most remarkable is a double comb, 12 inches long and 4 wide, having two sets of teeth. On the one side are twenty-six, and on the other forty-seven of a much smaller size. The outer bars project 2 inches at each end. "We are inclined to think," Mr. Carrington observes, "that this instrument was used for carding wool or flax; it would certainly be well suited for such a purpose. An experienced smith, to whom this specimen was shown, expressed much surprise at the evident skill which must have been exercised in the manufacture of it. He was of opinion that very few modern workers in iron could make such an instrument, and he further assured me that the iron of which it is made must be of the finest quality, as it would have been impossible to fashion the long and delicate teeth of the comb from iron of an inferior kind." The coins found are of the Constantine family, but they are not numerous.

C. ROACH SMITH.

Box.

[1833, *Part I.*, pp. 357, 358.]

We have been favoured, by the Rev. George Mullins, the Vicar of Box, with the following description of some Roman antiquities recently discovered at that place :

"In the supplement to the first part of your vol. ci., p. 596 [see note 24], a correspondent, in speaking of the antiquities of the village of Box, mentions the existence of some Roman remains in my garden. The discovery to which he alludes was that of a tessellated pavement found there a few years ago. I believe that, until that discovery, no site of Roman remains could be pointed out in the village, although tradition spoke of their existence. I have now to announce a further and more important discovery, which has taken place within the present year.

"In excavating some earth at the distance of 43 yards north from the pavement before alluded to, evident traces of another, but in a state of destruction, presented themselves; and in a line leading from this immediately to the former, I found seven stone pillars, of rough workmanship, and near them is an altar-like erection, consisting of several stones, and a piece of stone of a semicircular shape, about a foot across and 8 inches thick, partially excavated on each side, as if for the purpose of holding something. This stone bears evident marks of fire. Distant 28 yards to the west were the mutilated remains of a tessellated pavement of blue stones, ornamented with two red borders, the tesserae nearly an inch square, and the blue stones entirely decomposed. This pavement in its original state must have been at least 10 or 12 feet square. The remains of a wall on

the south side were covered with several flues, made of whole bricks, supported by iron cramps; and underneath the bed on which the pavement was laid, made of coarse gravel and mortar, were large flags, supported by pillars of stone, forming a regular hypocaust.

"The discovery of this pavement induced me to make an opening at a point where I might conjecture, from the direction of the hypocaust, more remains would be found; and at the depth of 4 feet below the surface of the earth I discovered a third tessellated pavement, very nearly perfect, apparently forming a passage from some other parts of the building. It is 9 feet wide, 28 feet long, and turns at a right angle 6 feet, where it is broken up; but it evidently extended much further in both directions. In one corner is a curious stone cut in a form as though intended for a seat, but now only 8 inches high. The pattern of this passage is particularly elegant. The ground colour is white; the exterior tesserae coarse; two blue lines of smaller cubes form the borders, 6 feet apart, and the intermediate space is filled with semicircles, forming waving lines, blue, crossing each other at right angles; these are again intersected by others of half the diameter, with their extremities united in the centre, and terminating in small crosses, shaded with red and yellow, white and blue, and producing a most beautiful effect. I have preserved several specimens of the plaster from the walls, the colours of which were very bright when first exposed to the air. The patterns were principally imitations of Egyptian marble, with elegant coloured borderings, but I have not been able to discover a decided figure on any of the pieces. One small vase, holding about a pint, apparently of British workmanship, was taken up near the pillars, but unfortunately damaged by the spade. Numberless fragments of earthen vessels, small pieces of pavements, tesserae, and Roman bricks, are now in my possession. One room was evidently paved with square red bricks, quite plain. One small coin only has been found, and this was so far corroded as to be wholly illegible. There is another piece of pavement (which, however, I have never yet seen), in a distant part of my garden; and the whole of the original buildings, if square, must have covered a considerable portion of ground, the most distant of the pavements being at least 50 yards apart."

BROMHAM.

[1796, pp. 472, 473.]

The Roman road proceeds visibly nearly from east to west to Hedington; but, on the western side of it, immediately becomes obliterated, from the operations of agriculture. If we still continue ideally the line westerly, its course, as tending towards *Aquæ Solis*, or Bath, at about two miles distance, just before crossing the turnpike-road from Devizes to Chippenham, is a spot where, about thirty years since, was discovered a Roman tessellated pavement. It still continues

nearly unimpaired, but covered over with earth, lying about a foot beneath the surface in an arable ground in the parish of Bromham. It represents a Roman soldier, or military officer of higher rank, of the natural size, armed with a spear composed of different coloured dice; the red of brick, the white, etc., of the marly chalk, or creta margacea, which forms the neighbouring hills and downs. Round about this spot the plough turns up the fragments of a red Roman tile, an inch in thickness nearly, and latticed on one side with diagonal furrows; but none to my knowledge inscribed. It was discovered between twenty or thirty years after Stukeley published his "Abury," and near the time of his death, or but shortly preceding it.

As the Roman road from Hedington to this pavement is defaced and obscured, so hence towards the Avon it still continues, from the same cause, to elude the search of the antiquaries. But, again tracing it in the mind's eye westward, its direction towards Aquæ Solis, or Bath, about two miles farther on, at a place called Busby Marsh, is another vestige, probably of Roman origin. It is the remains of an extensive pottery, spreading under the turf of a large meadow; where, in digging, or felling of trees, etc., the abundant fragments of a coarse, red, unglazed ware never fail to occur; and the bed of clay is still plentiful and good. Our assumed Verlucio, or Hedington, is distant from it about four miles eastward.

On both sides of the line of direction, in the lands at Bromham and Chitway, etc., are found many heaps of iron flags, some very near, others more remote. Great part of these are yet to be seen; and the ploughed grounds are in a manner often covered with the scattered pieces to a wide extent. Concerning them and their origin not only written evidence, but even tradition, is silent. The ore which has afforded these flags, or dross, abounds still in the neighbourhood; and much metal must have been here extracted at some remote period, when the fuel of the forests predominated over the improvements of agriculture. Such cinder-heaps, as they are often called, are found also in other parts of our island, in Monmouthshire,* Yorkshire,† etc., and are there regarded as the remains of Roman works. Particularly near North Brierly, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Dr. Richardson writes, that the Romans certainly made iron; for, in removing a heap of flags to repair the roads, a quantity of copper coins were discovered, of Constantine, Constantius, Dioclesian, and Carausius. He adds, that the surrounding country abounds with these remains, without even the tradition of iron having been made there. From this respectable authority we need not hesitate in admitting the similar flag-heaps of Bromham, Chitway, etc., to an equal share in the claim of a Roman origin. And, as a farther support of the opinion, may be mentioned the well-known

* Brokesby, in Leland, vol. vi., p. 96, edit. 2d.

† Richardson, in Leland, vol. vi., p. 141, edit. 2d.

ancient monumental stone of Julius Vitalis Fabriciensis, found, in 1708, near Bath, in repairing the Foss-way; who, being a workman at the forges, was interred at the charge of what might be called the Roman Iron Company. By this inscription, the existence of such works in the neighbourhood at that time receives more than a presumptive proof; and the distance, not exceeding 15 miles, renders a connection with Bromham, Chitway, and the environs, more probable than with Monmouthshire, as Dr. Brokesby suggests.

These are the observations which have led me to embrace the sentiments of Stukeley, and which are submitted with deference to the better judgment of others more versed in the Roman geography of our island. I will now cease farther to intrude; only stating that, exclusive of what has been before said, if we draw a right-line from Cūnetio to Aquæ Solis, from Marlborough to Bath, Hedington will be found much more nearly situated to that line than Warminster, Westbury, or Eddindon.

JUNIUS.

[1796, *Part II.*, p. 564.]

I wish your correspondent "Junius" would favour you with a drawing of the Roman pavement at Bromham, p. 472, of which the Society of Antiquaries appear to have been informed 1765 ("British Topography," ii. 384).

P. P.

[1840, *Part II.*, p. 528.]

Excavations on the site of a Roman villa, discovered at Bromham, Wiltshire, are going on under the direction of Mr. J. S. Money. The foundations of seven apartments are now visible; and more, it is supposed, are still concealed by the soil. Two sepulchral urns, filled with burnt human ashes, have been brought to light, as well as a coin of Carausius.

[1841, *Part I.*, pp. 81.]

At the Roman villa at Bromham, Wiltshire, the excavations have been continued till the baths were discovered and completely exposed to view. Four of these are in excellent preservation, considering the many centuries they have been inbedded in the earth. They are paved with flat tiles, about a foot square, and lie 4 or 5 feet beneath the surface. Other interesting parts of the building have been brought to light.

FARLEY.

[1823, *Part I.*, p. 113.]

The site of the once celebrated castle at Farley, the residence of the ancient family of Hungerford, is too well known to require any local description. Gibson, in his edition of Camden, mentions the discovery of a Roman pavement at this place, part of which was taken

up and deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford; but from the recent discovery of a Roman bath in the most perfect preservation (see Plate II.), it is evident that this villa has not been explored. We are at this time engaged in tracing its limits, an account of which, with the ground plan, shall be sent you, when our researches are terminated. The dimensions of this little bath are given accurately in the annexed ground plan. The pipe to let off the water is denoted by a small circular mark.

Yours, etc. R. C. H.

OLD SARUM.

[1795, *Part I.*, p. 193.]

It will no doubt excite your curiosity when I inform you that a subterraneous passage has been discovered at Old Sarum.

Some persons of Salisbury on Saturday last went to the upper verge of the fortification (the citadel), and on the right hand, after they had reached the summit, discovered a large hole. They got a candle and lantern, and went down a flight of steps for more than 30 yards. It was an arched way, 7 feet wide, neatly chiselled out of the solid rock or chalk. It is probable the crown of the arch gave way from the sudden thaw, and fell in. There is a great deal of rubbish at the entrance. It appears to be between 6 and 7 feet high, and a circular arch overhead all the way. These particulars I learned from the person who himself explored it; but was afraid to go farther lest it might fall in again and bury him. He thinks it turns a little to the right towards Old Sarum house, and continues under the fosse till it reached the outer verge. The marks of a chisel, he says, are visible on the side. There are two pillars at the entrance which appear to have had a door at foot.

Plate II., Fig. 1, is a sketch of Old Sarum; *aaaaa*, the situation of the underground passage, and its direction.

Fig. 2, a large view of the opening. At the entrance still remain two large pillars of square stone, 18 inches by 27, neat masonry work of good freestone, about 18 inches square, and 8 thick.

Fig. 3 marks its descent by steps, all cut in the solid chalk; the height from 7 to 8 feet; *bbbb*, the surface of the ground, the top of the highest part of the archway being 2 feet below the surface of the ground.

It is all now again filled up by order of Farmer Whitchurch, who rents the ground of Lord Camelford, and thinks curiosity would bring so many people there as to tread down his grass, whenever grass shall be there.

I went into it 30 yards, which was as far as I could get for the rubbish.

I measured it with a line, and found it extend full 120 feet inwards

from the two pillars supposed to be the entrance; then onwards it appeared to be filled to the roof with rubbish. By measuring with the same line on the surface of the earth, I found it must go under the bottom of the outer bank of the outer trench; where I think the opening may be found by digging a very little way.

Whether it was a Roman or a Norman work it is difficult to say; but it certainly was intended as a private way to go into or out of the castle; and probably a fort or strong castle was built over the outer entrance.

I looked for inscriptions or coins, but have not heard of any being found.

[1866, *Part II.*, p. 469.]

The Roman road from Winchester to Old Sarum (*Sorbiadunum*) is the greater part of the way to be yet walked upon, or by the side of. That from Silchester, as before observed, is also in good condition, except at intervals. Old Sarum is too well known to need description; but from my recent visit I am convinced its importance as a Roman station has never been fully estimated, and that it requires a careful study aided by excavations. From a fine fragment still remaining, this lofty hill-fortress appears to have been surrounded with a strong wall; but if so, there are no traces of it above ground, excepting the great mass of masonry referred to, which is unequivocally Roman. What may be termed the keep has evidently been, in part at least, faced with masonry, especially at the entrance.

C. ROACH SMITH.

WARMINSTER.

[1787, *Part I.*, pp. 221, 222.

A very beautiful Roman pavement has lately* been discovered near this town. Sorry I am to inform them, that great part of it is already destroyed, through the curiosity of the neighbouring *virtuosi*, who have broken up and carried away the tesserae of which it is composed.

Pit Mead, a large watered meadow 2 miles to the east of this town, is intersected from west to east by the river Willy, on the south side of which, at about 20 yards distance, is the seat of these curiosities. Half a mile off, on the other side of the river, exactly opposite, are two hills, the summits of which are very deeply intrenched, and are supposed by some to have been Roman encampments. The most conspicuous of these is called Battlesbury, on which a quantity of parched corn was found, some years ago, curiously preserved under ground in a sort of stone trough.

[* This was first noted in 1786, November 6th. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1786, *Part II.*, p. 990.]

On the same rising, at about 40 yards distance, are great heaps of rubbish, on digging into which, the foundations of buildings were discovered, and in another part a smooth floor of artificial stone, the extent of which is not yet ascertained.

In these researches, broken pieces of earthenware of various colours and shapes, a bit of glass of an unusual thickness, bones of different animals widely scattered, many iron nails, and quantities of charcoal have been found. One coin only (probably belonging to the second Claudius) has hitherto been discovered, which is so much impaired that nothing can be gathered from it. The cement is very strong, and of two colours, black and red, both full of little broken shells.

What particular deity or person is meant to be represented by the female figure, those who are better versed in antiquity may perhaps determine. As neither of the compartments is entire, I conjecture from her inclining attitude, as well as the situation of the hare sitting among rocks, which is not exactly under her feet, that there might have been other figures in the piece.

The figure of the female is graceful and elegant, and the drapery expressed in a very easy and flowing manner. The colours and shades are thrown in very beautifully, so as to have the effect of a good painting. The tessellæ used for forming the figures are all very small, and some of them minutely so; particularly the black, in which the outline of the figure is delineated. The colours of the stones are reds of various shades, black, brown, pale yellow, and white.

The figure of the hare is in its natural colours, light brown and white, and most admirably and naturally expressed; the rock-work composed of reds of different shades and black. The braid under it is composed of red, black, and white. The pavement to which it joins is of various colours, red, white, yellow, and black.

Another pavement, 56 feet long, 3 feet 9 inches wide, was perfectly entire and complete, but has since been almost all taken away. The tessellæ are about the size of common dice, and were black, brown, red, black, and white, and formed eight different stripes, which ran regularly in the braid through the whole length of the pavement. The white diamonds in the midst of the braid gives a lively appearance to the whole.

A third pavement here was very beautiful and curious, but so imperfect that no regular design could be traced out. Being only 2 or 3 inches under the surface, it had probably been trodden to pieces by the cattle.

Many rising grounds and heaps of rubbish are seen in other parts of this field. Some of the coarse large tesserae were found on a heap, at a considerable distance; and there is reason to suppose that similar discoveries might be made on searching them. There are also two large barrows at the east end of the meadow: one of these was cut through a few days ago, from the centre of which was taken

a large urn, of a rude shape, full of burnt bones intermixed with earth. But this is more probably a British than a Roman antiquity.

The Verlucio of the Romans is supposed by Camden to have been situated at or near Warminster; an opinion which these discoveries will probably confirm.

Yours, etc. W.

NORTH WRAXHALL.

[1860, *Part II.*, pp. 157-159.]

A field at the north-western extremity of the parish of North Wraxhall has long been known by the residents in the neighbourhood as the site of some buildings of the Roman period. It bears the name of the "Coffin ground," from the circumstance of a stone sarcophagus having been dug up there towards the commencement of the century, containing a skeleton at full length.

In the course of the autumn of 1858, the farm, which is the property of Lord Methuen, passed into the hands of a new tenant, who, finding the stones in the way of his plough, employed labourers to remove them, and thus brought to light the walls of several small rooms.

Mr. Poulett Scrope, who had watched these proceedings with much interest, thereupon communicated with Lord Methuen, and was requested by his lordship to direct further excavations. Four men were set to work, in December last, and have cleared the foundation walls of one entire building, measuring about 130 feet by 36, and containing more than sixteen separate rooms, passages, or courts, and traced out several other walls extending over the area of two or three acres already mentioned. Parts of these belonged probably to other houses, barracks perhaps, or farm buildings; while some seem to have been the enclosures of yards or gardens.

The principal building, already almost entirely excavated, was probably the villa, or habitation of a person of some importance, perhaps a landed proprietor, or the commanding officer of a military station. The length of the building, as shown by the dimensions given above, greatly exceeds its breadth. It stretches nearly north and south. The southern extremity is occupied by a series of five or six small chambers communicating with one another by doorways, and all having floors "suspended" over hypocausts, or arched ranges of hot flues. Four of these possess semicircular recesses at one end, one of them being occupied by a stone bath, the front of which is unfortunately broken. Considerable interest attaches to this nest of rooms, inasmuch as their arrangement corresponds most accurately with that usually practised in Roman *thermæ*, as described by Sir W. Gell in his *Pompeiana*, and as recommended by Vitruvius.

At the opposite or northern extremity of this range of buildings are

three or four chambers communicating with each other, and which, from the superior character of their masonry to that of the intermediate apartments, may be presumed to have formed the living or sleeping-rooms of the master of the house. None of these rooms have hypocausts, nor were their floors found entire; but the occurrence of numerous squared tessellæ in the rubbish filling them seemed to show that they once possessed tessellated pavements. The walls generally are well built of ranged courses of the stone of the country, partly dressed and faced with the axe or chisel. The quoins especially are as well squared and built as the very best modern masonry of the neighbourhood. In parts of the foundation walls extending over the larger area, very massive squared stones were found, probably the bases either of pillars or heavy stone door-posts.

The buildings were formerly covered with heavy stone roofing-tiles of reddish-gray sandstone, of the coal measures, which must have been brought from the Bristol coal-field, many miles distant. These are all of an elongated hexagonal form, neatly cut, showing the nail-hole, and in many cases the nail itself, by which they were fastened to the timber roof. Great numbers of such tiles, whole or in fragments, are scattered through the rubbish. Numerous other objects of art were found in the course of the excavations, mostly, of course, in a fragmentary state, such as pieces of pottery, chiefly of the dark brown, black, or blue sorts. In one of the hypocaust chambers—that which has been called the tepidarium—three entire jars of black earthenware were found resting against the wall, upon or within the hot flue, each having a cover upon it, and really conveying the impression that they had contained a portion of the last meal prepared by the inhabitants of the house before its final desertion or destruction. Among other articles met with, were two small bracelets, two bronze spoons, some beads, bone pins, and fifteen bronze coins—one of these is a very fine large brass of Trajan; the rest small brasses of the Lower Empire, Constantine, Constantius, Valens, etc. It may be remarked that every object that has yet turned up bears exclusively a Roman character, from which it is to be presumed that these buildings were completely destroyed towards the close of the occupation of the district by the Romans, and that the site was not subsequently occupied by any later inhabitants. Probably it was soon after that date overgrown with wood, of which it was, indeed, only cleared about thirty years since, when the plough was for the first time inserted among the ruins. Hence their comparative preservation. There are, however, indications of the temporary habitation of some portions of the buildings after a first epoch of spoliation and partial destruction, in the walling-up of some doorways by inferior masonry, etc. And many parts of the walls have been broken up, probably in very recent times, either because they were in the way of the cultivator, or for the purpose of using the materials in building the field walls and a neigh-

bouring barn. Indeed, many squared and faced stones of Roman work may be recognised in these situations. Among the rubbish within and about the buildings occur a great number of bones—mostly of swine, sheep, oxen, deer, etc., but some of them human. Several deers' antlers and wild boars' tusks were met with; some of the former had been fashioned into rude implements. Oyster-shells also abound, so that the inhabitants appear to have lived well. The internal walls of the rooms had clearly been lined with stucco, and painted in fresco. The patterns in the fragments remaining are generally rather rude stripes of different colours, sometimes crossed diamond-wise, with a flower or bud in the centre, or attached to each stripe. No inscription has yet been met with.

The spot is inaccessible by wheel carriages, except from the side of North Wraxhall village, where a bad parish highway leads to within a couple of fields of it. On the Castle Combe side, it can only be reached on foot, by crossing the deep glen which bounds the station to the north. It may be worth mentioning that on the point of the opposite hill on that side, the labourers, many years back, when digging up the ground for the plantation now growing there, met with a stone slab having the figure of a hunter spearing a stag sculptured on it, together with a heap of some hundred brass coins, chiefly of the Lower Roman Empire. And on the continuation of the same hill towards Castle Combe, several spots show vestiges of Roman occupation, as indeed is the case on many other points of the range of heights traversed by the great military foss road from Bath to Cirencester, which passes through both the parishes of Castle Combe and North Wraxhall. [See Note 25.]

Worcestershire.

DROITWICH.

[1847, *Part II.*, p. 72.]

A considerable quantity of medals, pottery, pins, etc., have been discovered at Droitwich by the workmen employed on the line of the Oxford and Wolverhampton Railway, and also the foundation of a villa of very considerable dimensions, containing in one of the rooms a pavement in excellent preservation.

SODDINGTON.

[1807, *Part II.*, p. 1009.]

Soddington, in the parish of Mamble, and the county of Worcester, at a small distance from the road between Bewdley and Tenbury, is the ancient seat of the Baronet family of the name of Blount; though at present they reside at a new seat, erected within

these thirty years, at Mawley, near Cleobury. The mansion at Soddington has been built at different times; but the most ancient part of it seems to be about 400 years old. The workmen at present are taking down the whole of it, which has given me an opportunity of making the following discoveries.

In digging beneath the oldest part of the house, at the depth of about 3 feet, the workmen struck upon an ancient focus, formed of thin bricks, which had each of them a semicircular termination, and had evidently been framed in a similar mould. In digging at a small distance from the focus, 5 feet below the level of it, a pavement, laid with large thin bricks, such as the Romans are known to have used, and as are commonly to be met with at Verulam and other Roman cities, was discovered. In levelling the ground near the house of Soddington, the labourers have dug up a vast number of curious tubes, which formed an ancient aqueduct. The existence of this was previously unknown to the inhabitants of the place. The tubes are formed of the finest clay, and exceedingly well baked, being of a gray colour on the outside, and, when broken, of a dark colour in the interior. They appeared to be exactly of the same composition with several Roman urns which I have seen. Each tube is about 2 feet long, and 4 inches in the total diameter, the aperture for conveying the water being about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. They have hollow tenons at one end, and mortices at the other, so as to fit together very exactly, and to appear air-tight without the use of mortar. They were laid in the direction of a spring which flows at the distance of a mile and a half from Soddington, at the top of an eminence still higher than the site of the mansion, though the latter is very high ground, and they have been traced a great part of the way to it.

But the most curious discovery of the whole occurred in a field within a quarter of a mile of the old house, where, in levelling a hillock, on which an oak quite decayed with age, besides other trees, stood, at the depth of about 2 feet from the sod, the workmen found a complete brick-kiln, consisting, by computation, of 10,000 bricks, the greater part of which were well burnt, the rest being only half burnt. The kiln was not made as kilns are usually made at present, nor were the bricks of the same size with our bricks, being larger and thinner.

J. MILNER.

WORCESTER.

[1860, *Part II.*, p. 159.]

Some labourers digging for sand near the site of the old bowling-green at Diglis, and within two hundred yards of the Severn, recently discovered a quantity of ancient pottery and a copper coin of Domitian, in good preservation, as also some bones. Much of the pottery was broken, fragments of eight or nine vessels being

picked up. There was, however, a complete saucer, of red or Samian ware, and part of another; a jar, or basin, 6 inches across and 6 inches deep, of brown baked ware; two bottles, or vases, of light ware, with handles, small necks, and globular bodies, like the sack bottles of the middle of the seventeenth century. One of these bottles was 9 inches high, and the other 6 inches. There is no doubt of these remains being Roman, but being found only a yard beneath the surface of the soil, it is probably not a Roman deposit, especially as other fragments of pottery of a much later date were found with them. The site in question is not many yards from the mound whereon once stood the castle of Worcester, commanding a ford in the Severn. Old maps do not indicate any house as standing on the spot, but remains of foundations show that, at a period not very far distant, a building of some kind stood there. The relics were found imbedded in the soil without any space around them, or any remains of masonry or other contrivance for preserving them, nor do they appear to have been buried in a regular order.

Yorkshire.

ALDBOROUGH.

[1787, *Part II.*, pp. 564, 565.]

About three miles north-east of Aldborough, the ancient Isurium of the Romans, is a tumulus called Devil Cross, whose elevation is about 18 feet, and circumference at the base 370 feet. It was broken into, some time since, to supply materials for the repair of the high road leading from Aldborough to York. The soil consists, first, of a black earth, and under that a red sandy gravel, human bones, some of which are entire, and urns of various sizes, containing burnt bones and ashes. The urns are composed of blue clay and sand, some ornamented, and others quite plain; several Roman coins have also been found here.

That this tumulus was raised by the Romans over the remains of some of their countrymen, is evident from the urns and coins.

Explanation of Plate II.—Fig. 1 is a votive stone of a very coarse grit, 7 feet long, and 18 inches in diameter; it was dug up in the year 1778, about 200 yards distant from Devil Cross; the inscription has been translated, "Caius Messius Quintus Decius to the Emperor Trajan Cæsar the best happy and august prince in his xx consulate."

Fig. 2. An urn, 9 inches high, and 32 inches in circumference, found at Devil Cross in the year 1785, filled with ashes and small pieces of burnt bones.

Fig. 3. A coin of Vespasian, found at Devil Cross, March 22, 1787.

Fig. 4. Probably the umbo of a shield. The drawing is the size of

the original. It is of brass, and the gilding still remains. This, with several other broken pieces of the same metal, were dug up in May, 1787, within an intrenchment on a hill near Harrowgate, called Horn Bank. These intrenchments, though passed over by the plough for several years successively, are still very apparent; they occupy the top of the hill, and appear to have included three different forts, one of a circular, and two of a square form.

E. H.

[1787, *Part II.*, pp. 659, 660.]

The stone found near Devil, or Dewel, q. d. Deuil Cross, is evidently a *milliary*. The inscription has proved a *crux criticorum* hitherto. It certainly is not to be read as your correspondent reads it; for in all ancient inscriptions the person *to* whom they are erected precedes the person *by* whom. Though I confess I copied it differently about two years ago, I incline to give it, on the authority of the present copy, to Decius, the successor of Philip in the empire. We must then read it:*

IMP. C
ÆS. C. MESS.
SSIVS
Q. DEC
TRA PO
FELICI
AVG
XXC
S.

The style of this emperor on his coins is,

IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANUS, DECIVS AVG.
IMP. CAES. C. MESS. Q. DECIO TRAI. AGV.
IMP. CAES. MESS. TRAI. Q. DECIVS AVG.

which I mention to show the different transpositions of his name, and that "Decius" before "Trajanus," on this stone, is not so extraordinary. It may not be easy to account for "Messius" being in the nominative, when all the other names and titles are in the dative case. "PO" after "TRA" stands for "PIO," and though this emperor has not the title of "Pius" or "Felix" on his coins, that is no reason why it might not have been given him on lapidary inscriptions. Neither is it a reason against his name, etc., being inscribed on a stone in Britain, that he does not appear to have ever been in this island. He was born in Pannonia, and his principal service was in Illyrium, whither Philip sent him against Marinus, on whose death he was proclaimed emperor by the army there, and lost his life in battle in Mæsia. But this by no means precludes his having held some command in Britain in former reigns. The example of Florianus, who reigned but *two months*, yet had a *milliary* inscribed with his name among us (see vol. lv., p. 1034

[* Imperator Cæsar C. Messius Q. Decius Trajanus pio felice Augusto Huebner, 213.]

[*ante*, p. 242)], is a case in point. The scene of the Roman transactions lay much in Yorkshire, in the time of Severus, who died at York A.D. 211. Decius was killed A.D. 249; so that it is by no means impossible that he might have served under Severus, or at least his successors, in Britain, and not have been above fifty years old at his death, as Aurelius Victor states his age. He bore an excellent character in every respect, except that the Christians were cruelly persecuted for one whole year under his reign. (See "Universal History," vol. xv., pp. 414-417, from Zonaras, Zosimus, and Aur. Victor.) "His family name was Messius, which appears also on the medals of his sons. Yet it has been the custom to call him Decius, and to put that name sometimes before that of Trajanus." (Crevier, "Hist. des Empereurs," tom. x., p. 137.) On a pedestal at Feltria in Rhetia, given by Gruter, cclxxii. 6, is this inscription:

IMP. CAES.
C. MESSIO
QVINTO. TRA
IANO. DECIO
PIO FOELICI AVG.
PONTIFICI MAX
TRIB. POT. III. COS. II.
P. P. PR. COS.
ORDO FELTR.

and mxxi. 6, this inscription, on a pillar in Italy, on the banks of the Benaco:

IMI
C. ME VS
TRAIANVS DECIVS
F. AVG. PA. P. TRIB. POT
— — — — —
II COS. II. PI. C.

His consulships do not appear on his coins in Occo, 352-354.

If the above conjectures are admitted, and they at least deserve to be so till better are started, this monument, almost as rare as that of Florianus, fills up the void in the Roman history of Britain in those disordered times of the Roman empire, where history itself is almost silent.

The coin of Vespasian, found in the same hillock, belongs to his 8th Consulate, A.D. 77. The inscription on the reverse is, FORTUNAE REDVCI, and the figure of Fortune is represented standing. Occo, 116.

D. H.

[1804, *Part I.*, p. 306.]

I have sent a drawing (Fig. 11) of a Roman key found at Aldburgh, County York. The original of the enclosed drawing, from the size of it, probably belonged to a female. It is of fine brass.

G. M.

[1811, *Part II.*, p. 312.]

I send you an account of a Roman monument dug up, a few months ago, at Aldborough, near Borough Bridge, the ancient *Isurium Brigantum*. This stone is plain, boasting not the least ornament ;

D. M.
FIL CVIE
COLUGS
KARIS
C. M. P.
F. CVR

*Diis manibus. Filo[mena]e? co[i]jug[i]s karissimæ C. Manlius Primus facien-
dum curavit.** [See Huebner, p. 66.]

I lament to say that Aldborough, which from the time of Leland has engaged the particular notice of the most celebrated antiquaries, is in imminent danger of losing those remains that have illustrated its ancient splendour. Its rich and beautiful tessellated pavements are by the dilapidating hands of every idle traveller rapidly diminishing, and, still to make a show, the vacancies are supplied with common clumsy fragments of red brick or plaster. The Roman walls have been long since appropriated for the ready purpose of mending the high-ways ; but a curious site of ground, which evidently marked out an amphitheatre, for the celebration of the *Ludi Romani*, has been only very lately demolished ; whilst a *patera*, highly ornamented, has served as a wanton mark for stones and brickbats. It is to be regretted that there is no landed proprietor of any taste with authority to restrain such Gothic barbarism. It has remained for a gentleman at Borough Bridge, engaged in the avocation of commerce, to devote a part of his leisure hours to the laudable purpose of preservation, and to snatch from destruction the new relics that are almost daily exposed to view : the monument I have described is, no doubt, by this time rescued from the havoc of a farm-yard, and safely deposited in his museum. Amidst a variety of Roman coins, collected from the neighbourhood, he showed a copper one, of the reign of Domitian, that had been dug from a mound of earth filled with human skeletons and bones. This coin was discovered closely wedged in a state of security between the front teeth of a skull ; several of the teeth were perfect.

Yours, etc. VIATOR MILITARIS.

* The reading given above is that adopted by Huebner. It originally stood as follows :

Diis manibus. Filius, (unà cum) civitate, collugens karissimi claram memoriam Patris, (hoc monumentum) fieri curavit.

"Sacred to the divine manes. A son lamenting, in common with the city, the honourable memory of a beloved father, caused this monument to be erected."

[1848, *Part II.*, p. 633.]

A valuable addition to the recorded Roman remains in this county has just been made by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, of York, at Aldborough, the Roman *Isu Brigantium*. On digging in the garden of the Black Swan Inn, about 3 feet from the surface, a low wall was exposed, and found to surround one of the finest Roman tessellated pavements hitherto met with in Britain, being 12 feet square, perfect, well executed, and in the highest state of preservation, the tessellæ remaining as fresh and bright as when the room was last occupied some thousand years ago. It is only about 14 feet distant from another curious pavement, found in 1832, on digging to bury a calf.

AMOTHERBY.

[1868, *Part I.*, p. 83.]

About the commencement of November, a mere accident—the ploughing up of the upper stone of a Roman mill—induced examination of a field situate on the glebe farm in the township of Amotherby and parish of Appleton-le-Street, with noteworthy results. The Rev. James Robertson, of Appleton, is the explorer, and this gentleman has, up to the present time, laid bare a series of large paved floors, varying from 6 inches to 2 feet 6 inches below the surface of the land. Beyond the fact that an occasional piece of Roman pottery was picked up in the soil, there was no indication of any remains in the field. The place is very near the supposed junction of two great lines of Roman road—one from Derventio to Isurium, the other from Eburacum to Prætorium; of the former the affix “in the street” marks the route; and the latter is defined by a line of small camps and the name “Roman Road.” The field in question has been tried in various places, and pavements have been found over a wide area. So far no trace of walls or foundations has been found; they are simply pavements. These are irregular in outline, and varying in size, one being 29 feet by 13½ feet, another 90 feet. Some are detached, while others have paved pathways as connections. The floors are paved with blocks of oolite limestone and sandstone (the latter mostly burnt quite dark in colour) and sea pebbles, in some parts flat slabs of limestone being paved edgewise. The floors are not level, but fall off to the sides. Under the crown there is generally a deposit of ashes, charcoal, and burnt animal bones. Below this is a second pavement. All round the edges is burnt matter, which yields quantities of broken Roman pottery of various kinds—wheel-made and otherwise, with a few pieces of Samian ware. The hand-made pottery is very rude. Singularly, nearly the whole of it—nine pieces in every ten, certainly—consists of the rims of various vessels; and there are a few necks and handles of amphoræ. The major part of the pottery is found round the edges of the floors, and somewhat

below their level; but much has also been dug up between the paving-stones. Two upper stones of mills (querns) have been found, and several fragments of the nether millstone, but not a perfect one. Three small brass Roman coins, and various minor objects, include the collections from this not very intelligible establishment. Mr. Robertson himself is by no means satisfied with the result of his researches, which have only served to induce him at an early opportunity to resume the excavations.

C. ROACH SMITH.

BARNSBY.

[1767, *p.* 522.]

Four human skeletons were dug up in a gravel-pit, in Barnsby Field, near Pocklington, in Yorkshire; three were without coffins, the fourth was enclosed in a coffin, with an urn at the head, after the manner of the ancient Romans, on the outside of which were engraved several ancient characters: the coffin mouldered into dust as soon as exposed to the air.

BOROUGH BRIDGE.

[1862, *Part II.*, *p.* 614.]

I beg to bring under your notice a fine specimen of Roman art not previously described, and concerning which I offer you a few particulars. It is a tessellated pavement in the possession of a bricklayer at Borough Bridge, obtained by him many years ago in large blocks, and put aside until lately, when having some spare time, he has laid it down in a small summer-house. He has restored it so cleverly that it now presents a very beautiful specimen of Roman work. About thirteen or fourteen years ago I recollect being shown a rough sketch of it, but having about the same time left this part of the country, I had forgotten all about it till my attention was recalled to the subject a few days ago.

At present it appears 6 feet square, owing to the fanciful additions of the possessor in various sized tesserae of designs not in harmony with the central device. The centrepiece, about 3 feet square, represents an animal under a tree, with two small objects in red tesserae beneath the animal's belly. The animal and tree are in blue on a ground of white tesserae. A deep border of blue, with two or three courses of red tesserae beyond, complete the portion that is genuine.

The design is well and carefully constructed of small tesserae, and a work of considerable artistic value when compared with many other pavements still extant at Aldborough. [*Ante*, pp. 358-362.]

You will be glad to learn that it is shortly to be moved, and presented, through the munificence of one of the members, to the Philosophical and Literary Society of Leeds.

I am, etc.

CHARLES MOORE JESSOP.

BRIDLINGTON.

[1839, *Part II.*, p. 410.]

In a field adjoining the road leading from Rudston to Kilham, near Bridlington, a tessellated pavement, about 6 inches from the surface, was uncovered, the tesserae differing in size from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch—colours, white, red, and blue, white prevailing—laid in lines and forming diamonds, extending over a surface of about 4 yards by 3 yards, walled round on three sides with large rough stones similar to the chalk stones of the Wolds. A great part of the pavement had been destroyed at a former period by some labourers, who had dug it up in the hope of finding treasure. It contained red bricks, of a square form, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; pieces of plaster, smooth on one side and painted, some red all over, some in lines, and some with dashes of red and green, apparently water colours. Below this, at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the surface, were a number of tiles, in regular order, slightly curved, and having a flank at each side. They were placed flank to flank one with another, having the hollow side downward. The top surface presented an indented half-circle, extending from one end to about one-third of the whole length. The size of each tile is about 15 inches by $11\frac{1}{2}$, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in thickness. Immediately under these was another layer of the same sort of tiles, laid in the same manner, but transversely with the other. Below these was a small quantity of exceedingly black ashes, and near were some pieces of a rather bony-like substance, porous, and having a great semblance to the incrustated moss from the Dropping Well at Knaresborough. Still lower was a layer of fine rich earth, a few inches in thickness, and then a bed of fine natural red clay, probably the material similar to that of which the bricks and tiles had been formed. From the description of these remains, the building may be supposed to have been a bath.

CLIFFE.

[1844, *Part II.*, p. 24.]

An inscribed stone was lately found at Piercebridge, or rather at Cliffe, on the Yorkshire side of the Tees. The station was on the Durham side of the river, at Piercebridge; but, as is well known, the Romans buried their dead in all directions by the side of their roads. At all events the stone seems to have been found within half a mile from the camp at Piercebridge itself. The inscription is of the monumental character, and seems to have been erected by Aurelia Flavia to her husband. [Huebner, p. 91.]

..... M
 RACI I I
 OINATO
 MAVSVPER
 XXII AVRELIA
 [FLAV]ILLA CON
 [IVG]I FACIEND
 VM CVRAVIT

The *av* in the fourth line, and the *vr* in the fifth line, are ligatures and the *ia* at the end of the fifth line are small letters within the *L*.

DONCASTER.

[1781, *p.* 361.]

In digging out the ground to make a cellar in this town a few months ago, a Roman votive altar was found about 6 feet deep below the common surface of the adjacent ground, covered with what appeared to have been cast earth, which probably had been thrown there upon some former revolution in the place many centuries ago. The drawing herewith sent you of it is sufficiently exact; the inscription is perfectly legible, and the whole stone has escaped through all accidents with very little mutilation.

GAINFORD.

[1866, *Part II.*, *p.* 357.]

Two years ago, in restoring the parish church at Gainford, a Roman inscribed altar was found, built into one of the piers of the tower arch. To the Rev. H. M. Scarth we are indebted for a copy of the inscription, which he has just published in the journal of the British Archæological Association, as follows [Huebner, *p.* 92; see Note 26]:

I. O. M.
DOLYCHEN
VL. VALENTIA
ORD CERISVN.
EX IVSSV IPSIVS
POSVIT PRO SE ET
SVIS L . . .
. . . ESENTEII . . . COS.

The general meaning is sufficiently apparent. Julius Valentinianus, or Valentinus, erects an altar to Jupiter Dolychenus for himself and his family, in the consulship, probably, of Præsens and Rufinus (A.D. 153). The readings offered of the fourth line are not wholly satisfactory, for the lettering is not quite perfect. Dr. M'Caul conjectures the word following ORD to be CERASVNTIS, the genitive case of CERASVS, a town of Pontus; and that the reading may be, ORTVS (or ORIVNDVS) DOMO CERASVNTIS. Others suggest CEREALIVM as the amplification of CER; and ISVRIVM for ISV, making the full reading of the line *or(dinis) D(ecurionum) Cer(ealium) Isu(rium)*. The latter of these seems the more objectionable. If in the CER we could read GER, for GERMANORUM, the word ORD (*ordo*) would present no difficulty, for it is often applied to a company of soldiers, as in an inscription at Cologne, ORD. BRITO (*num*), and the Germans are not unfrequently mentioned on Romano-British monuments. It is just a question, also, whether the *i* following CER may be part of an *M*; and, if so, whether the SVN may not be SVP for SVPERIOR, Germany

having been divided into Superior and Inferior; but the eye bearing upon the inscriptions themselves is the safest judge; and these remarks are offered with every diffidence to Mr. Scarth.

The remains of other Roman sculptures were found in Gainford Church. One records the Sixth Legion; another has the figure of a horseman. It is a question from what locality these came. Gainford is 2 miles from Piers Bridge, where it is well known there was a Roman station; and it is not improbable the stones were taken from its ruins.

C. ROACH SMITH.

GRETA BRIDGE.

[1793, *Part II.*, p. 1073.]

A few days ago the inclosed inscription and fragment (Plate II., figs. 1, 2) were found at Greta Bridge, in Richmondshire. In enlarging the garden at the George Inn, and making a sunken fence for the improvement of the prospect from the great dining-room, the workmen were employed upon the north vallum of the Roman station, whence they removed a great number of stones proper for their walling. At the depth of several feet they recovered the inscription, which is cut on a tablet of white grit-stone, and is in the highest preservation. The length of the tablet is 3 feet 7 inches, and the width 1 foot 9 inches; the characters are 2 inches in length, and well cut, and the sculptures at the ends delicate and finely raised. The whole has not suffered the least injury, and it is one of the most beautiful remains I have seen. [See Note 27.]

Several large pieces of cornice, one capital of a square pilaster, which has terminated one end of the cornice, and several long step-stones, or cover-stones, were found near the same place.

The fragment (fig. 2) was also found in the same place. It is cut on a coarse brown stone, and the characters are much ruder, and with the ligatures as represented.

W. HUTCHINSON.

[1794, *Part II.*, p. 692.]

The tablet is inscribed to Severus and Caracalla, after the latter was declared Augustus, and to Geta, as united with them in the empire, after his being declared Cæsar, by Lucius Alfinus Senecio, their legate lieutenant.

KILHAM.

[1823, *Part II.*, p. 75.]

On June 24, 1823, a party of young men, having previously heard that numerous interesting discoveries had been made in a sand-pit near Kilham, determined to visit the place in search of antiquities. They soon met with a considerable quantity of human bones mixed up in a confused state. An entire skeleton laid in regular order, at

about 3 feet below the surface, with the head to the north-west, was next presented, and with it were beads of amber, and of blue and spotted glass; a large brass pin; brass clasps; iron ring; small triangular-shaped brass ornaments, very thin, and a few other relics. On returning to the town, they were gratified with the sight of other articles, found near the same place a short time ago, consisting of a spear-head of iron and another piece of wrought-iron, in form nearly resembling the lid of a tea-kettle; but for what purpose it had originally been intended is not known. Vast quantities of human bones have at different times been dug up at Kilham and in the neighbourhood. In the afternoon, the party walked to an artificial mound, west of Kilham, by the side of the high-road from thence to York, called "Gallows Hill," and in appearance much resembling a tumulus: it is said to have been a place of execution—a thing which the name seems to imply. An ancient Roman road, crossed near the spot by the present road, runs through a plantation close by, in a direction towards Langtoft; they traced it the other way to Ruston Parva Herds, where, for some distance, it appears to form the division of the lordships. The Roman roads and dikes in the neighbourhood seem to be much more numerous than have generally been supposed. Besides the one above mentioned, another runs on the north side of Kilham, which is supposed to have had a connection with one on the high side of Lantoft, between that place and Weaverthorpe; the present road from Bridlington to York is there called "High Street." At Argam, the remains of dikes may be distinctly seen: these are connected in Reighton field with others which run between Hunmanby and North Burton, towards Cansdale.

KIPPAX.

[1865, *Part II.*, pp. 490, 491.]

In the month of March of this year, some labourers were excavating on the site of an artificial mound in the township of Kippax, and in the course of their labours one of them turned up a remarkably perfect Roman glass bottle. When first discovered, the exterior showed that it had been completely gilded externally, but the discoverer foolishly removed what gilding remained by scrubbing it well with water and coarse sand. The scratches of the sand are still left upon the bottle, but in every other respect it is as perfect as upon the day when the Roman artisan turned it out of his hands as a finished specimen of his handiwork. Its dimensions are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the top, neck $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, greatest circumference $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and total height $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

I am unacquainted with the Roman mode of making glass bottles, but from the appearance of this it is quite clear that it has not been blown. The orifice is not circular, and the sides of the bottle do not appear to be of uniform thickness. Its shape has not that regularity

which it would have if it had been produced from a mould, and blown according to the method of the present day; it seems rather to have been cast. At the bottom of the bottle there is an indentation, wherein lies an unfinished knob of glass, similar in every respect to that now found in the centre of sheets of glass, and known by the somewhat technical name of "bulls' eyes." The material of the bottle is of a greenish hue. It is now in the custody of Mr. John Holmes, of Mithley, who kindly allowed me to take the accompanying sketch.

The spot where it was found is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Castleford, and near the famous Roman road locally called the Roman Ridge. Castleford is generally admitted to be the ancient Leogolium; and Horsley remarks, "Perhaps the most ancient part of the name is retained in Olerton." This Olerton is now known as Allerton. Bywater, and the township of Kippax, in which the bottle was found, is immediately north of Allerton. Its eastern boundary is formed by the Roman Ridge.

Mr. Holmes informs me that in the mound were found ashes and such débris as are generally found in the vicinity of furnaces. Is it probable that the Romans ever practised the making of glass at Castleford? There is a great quantity of glass bottles made at Castleford at the present day, and perhaps some of your correspondents could tell us whether there is any reason to suppose the trade has been long established in the neighbourhood.

I am, etc. A. E. W.

MALTON.

[1861, *Part I.*, p. 318.]

The drainage works now in progress in the streets of Malton have exposed a section of the Roman road leading from Derventio to Eboracum. The road has been traced a distance of 150 yards, and is at a uniform depth of 3 feet below the present surface, and lies close upon the oolite rock. It does not appear to have been paved, but somewhat resembles the modern system of macadam, and is formed of water-rounded gravel or shingle of the secondary rocks. Except a small fragment resembling the Samian ware, no pottery has yet been found. At 2 feet below the present surface, an upper and more recent road was also cut through. On this the soil was nearly black, and some beds of ashes were found, and the stones bore numerous traces of fire. It is supposed that this marks the level of the street previous to the destruction of the town by the Scots, in Archbishop Thurstan's time, when it was burnt.

[1861, *Part I.*, p. 446.]

Further evidences of Roman occupation of the district of the Derwent (Derventio) have been brought to light at Malton.

The Roman road is formed close upon the sand, and seems to have been made more solid on account of the loose nature of the subsoil, it being fully a foot in thickness. Part of a skull, a portion of a large bronze fibula, and a few fragments of pottery have been thrown out. From the ancient road to the present surface, the superincumbent ground is, for a thickness of 6 feet, one mass of cast rubbish, semi-calcined building stones, and ashes. Excavations at Norton have revealed a perfect skeleton, which, however, would not bear removal, near which was a very fine cinerary urn, of baked clay, containing ashes, and ornamented with diamond work on the exterior. Numerous coins of Constantine's and earlier reigns have been found. Skeletons, pottery, coins, ornaments, and celts have frequently been found here, and it is inferred that the site was formerly a Romano-British cemetery.

[1862, *Part II.*, p. 557.]

At Norton, near Malton, where a system of town drainage has recently been commenced, in excavating for the outfall in the river, at a depth of 8 feet, a hard, firm, concrete mass was discovered, which resembled the best macadamised road, but was so firmly cemented together that for a considerable time no way could be cut through it. Eventually a section was exposed, which showed the road to be about 15 inches in thickness, and to have been continued apparently across the bed of the river to the large camp at Malton, now by some persons regarded as the lost station *Derventio*. The view of the site of a ford here is strengthened by its being immediately opposite the *Prætorian Gate* of the Malton camp. The 8 feet of cutting was composed of alluvial deposit, which, in being thrown out, yielded several coins, varying in date from the time of Constantine to the third William. This would indicate that the ford had continued in use till within a century or two ago. In addition to coins, close upon the road were found various kinds of Roman pottery, antlers of deer, an iron spear-head, with traces of a horn handle; a wooden sandal or shoe, with bronze fastenings (the wood crumbling on exposure); and a quantity of small horseshoes, differing from those of the present day in being much smaller and lighter, and being without the groove for the nail-heads. The road was exposed for some yards in a southward direction, towards a small camp which has been recently built upon. The drain, on reaching the street, was curved eastward, and all trace of the road was then lost. But a few yards of excavation due east discovered a second road, formed at right angles to the first, and made of similar materials. This road is yet being cut through; fragments of Roman pottery are constantly turned up, and the road itself is gradually nearing the surface of the modern street, being now only 3 feet below. The road is formed of broken stone and some description of cement laid upon boulders, and is of almost impenetrable hardness. In

Black's "Guide to Yorkshire" (1862) a map is given of Roman Malton, showing a road, in an easterly direction, to the Portus Salutaris and Ocelum Promontorium of Ptolemy, and it is believed this road is identical with the one now discovered, which seems likely to be traced throughout the main street of the town.

[1867, *Part I.*, p. 95.]

Discoveries have been making for some weeks past at Norton, on the River Derwent, opposite Old Malton, which there is every reason to believe occupies the site of the Roman Derventio. It would appear that Norton stands upon a Roman cemetery; and some rather extensive excavations for drainage have brought to light large quantities of those miscellaneous remains usually found in Roman burial-places; individually, perhaps, of no great consequence, but collectively worthy of preservation, especially in connection with what has heretofore been found at Old Malton, and with what may yet be discovered. Two inscriptions have been, in past times, dug up there. The first of these was, a few years since, in the possession of Mr. Walker, of Malton, who also had several large brass Roman coins dug up at Norton, including Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina Junior and Commodus; and others in past times had been collected by his father. Recently it appears those of the Lower Empire have chiefly been met with. One is a plated or forged denarius of Caracalla. Mr. Walker, in his collection, had an ancient forgery of Geta.

C. ROACH SMITH.

MEUX.

[1834, *Part II.*, p. 300.]

A beautiful tessellated pavement was lately uncovered by some workmen engaged in improvements at Meux, in Holderness, which was, doubtless, formerly the floor of the abbey church.

NORTH ALLERTON.

[1808, *Part I.*, p. 381.]

Having lately made a short tour into the wapentake or hundred of Allertonshire, in the North Riding of the County of York, my first day's journey brought me to North Allerton, where, after taking some refreshment, I walked to the Castle Hills, which lay about a quarter of a mile to the west of the town. On the principal hill (according to Gale's historical account) stood the Roman *castrum*, surrounded by a beautiful Roman camp, the ancient mounds and entrenchments of which are visible to this day. About twenty-three years ago, the entrenchments on the south side of the encampment were levelled, in order to fit that part of the ground for tillage; and, in consequence of the present owner of the ground having last year inclosed part of the encampment into small fields, some more of the mounds and en-

trenchments have this spring been levelled ; but the mounds and works on part of the east, the north and west side of the encampment are still entire. About a quarter of a mile south of this stands the hamlet of Romanby, at which place is to be seen a part of the old Roman military way leading from the station at *Derwentio* (now Aldby on the Derwent) by Easingwold, Thisk, and Romanby to Catterick, where it joins the Great Ermin Street.

SCARBOROUGH.

[1844, *Part II.*, p. 636.]

Many urns, some glazed and ornamented, were lately found in levelling the ground behind the old church at Scarborough. Some of them were hermetically closed, and contained ashes and burnt bones, and are supposed to have remained there since the time of the Romans.

SETTLE.

[1784, *Part I.*, p. 259.]

Some workmen digging for stones, about a year ago, in a quarry by the roadside at Craven Bank (the boundary of that extensive country called Craven), above Giggleswick, found, in a crevice between two rocks, about the depth of 2 yards, a large quantity of Roman coins, chiefly of the two Constantines, as appeared very plain by the reverse and the legend, *GLORIA EXERCITVS*, still very legible. Some appeared also to be denarii of Gratianus. There are likewise three or four which, upon examination, I found to have on one side the figure of Romulus ; and round the head the letters *ROMVL*. very plain. On the reverse the figure of the wolf, with Romulus and Remus sucking, with the words *VRBS FVN*.

At High Hill, above Settle, are still visible the remains of two Roman fortifications. The first takes up an immense tract of ground, in the middle of which is a noble spring, artificially surrounded with an earthen bank. The second is small, of an oblong form, exactly like that described, at Mam Tor, by Mr. Bray, in his "Tour through Derbyshire." At Craven Bank, where the above coins were found, is an artificial tumulus, or mount of earth, raised in the form of a cylindrical cone, with a neat cut pathway and flat top, with a raised bank above the summit. On this has probably been a watch-tower.

W. F.

SLACK.

[1824, *Part I.*, p. 261.]

A discovery was lately made of a Roman brick and tile-kiln, upon the estate of Benjamin Haigh Allen, Esq., situate at Slack, in Longwood, in the parish of Huddersfield, 20 inches from the surface. It has roused the attention of thousands in that neighbourhood, who

have journeyed to view the remains of this Roman antiquity; the reports at the first were various; that a church had been found underground, a castle, a town, a Roman city and bath had been discovered; however, what is discovered will be highly interesting to the antiquary. The tiles are perfect, together with many of the pipes or tubes for conducting (as it is supposed) the heat from the fire to the kiln, where the bricks, tiles, etc., were burnt. The tiles are 12 inches long by 5, and some by 6 inches broad and 1 thick, and chequered, and the tubes are about 12 inches long, and are at the end $6\frac{3}{8}$ by 5 inches, and chequered on two sides. The most material thing found is a piece of brick or tile impressed COH IIII BRE, the C and part of the O being effaced—thus proving that the 4th Cohort of the Roman Legion was stationed at Slack. Camden states, that at Grimescar, near Huddersfield, bricks have been dug up with this inscription, COH IIII BRE; for the Romans, who were excellent masters in the arts of discipline and war, wisely took care to preserve their soldiers from effeminacy and sloth, by exercising them in times of peace, either in draining the country by casting ditches, mending the highways, making bricks, building bridges, or the like. There are other articles found, but at present we have not been able to ascertain what they are, and the discoveries are still going on. Mr. Taylor, of Leeds, the architect, has made a drawing of the kiln before it was ordered by Mr. Allen to be pulled up, to be again put up at Green Head, his residence. This removal is much to be lamented.—*Leeds Intelligencer*.

[1840, *Part I.*, pp. 521-523.]

In pursuance of my promise I shall give a brief description of the remains of a Roman hypocaust, which I had the good fortune to discover at a place called Slack, a few miles from Huddersfield, on the site of the ancient Cambodunum.

Some labourers in search of stone, for which these fields have been the quarry of ages, brought to light a very extensive pavement, not less than 10 feet wide, with a wall on either side. Being present at the time, my attention was attracted to the singular appearance of a flagstone of great thickness, through which there was a groove, intended, probably, for the admission of air, for, on its removal along with a large mass of Roman cement, we penetrated a cavity, which had all the characters of a Roman hypocaust. The fragments of charcoal that were visible within and around it strengthened this supposition; on subsequent examination there appeared seven tiers of pilasters, of which there were also seven to each tier. The roof of the furnace was composed of square stone, above which there was a layer of Roman bricks of a handsome appearance, each 21 inches square. But what particularly excited our admiration, was a series of closely cemented flues or tubes, which nearly surrounded

this quadrangular figure, some of which being scored in imitation of tessellated pavement, gave it an air of neatness and symmetry, which was compared by the spectators to the front of an organ. The tubes or flues were about 12 inches long, and at the end $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches. Some of the flues were found in an horizontal position, and it seems probable that in its perfect state there were many others intended probably to convey warmth to the adjacent houses, for the remains of a foundation wall nearly a yard thick were discovered near it. The numerous massy fragments of Roman mortar, beautifully checkered with broken brick, seemed to form the floor of the bath.

The late Mr. Taylor, the architect, kindly favoured me with a drawing of the entire structure, before it was removed to the residence of the late Mr. Allen, but its present appearance, though sufficient to show the object of the structure, is not so well calculated to convey a correct knowledge of its various parts, so many portions being wanting, and others mutilated or injured. Imperfect, however, as it is, it remains a singular specimen of Roman ingenuity. It appears, however, that this hypocaust is not the only one that has been discovered at this Roman station, a similar one having been recorded by the late Dr. Whitaker, in his account of this place. I must not omit to mention that several pieces of bone were collected at no great distance from the floor of the hypocaust, some of which appeared to have escaped decomposition from their having been partially calcined and embedded in a mass of charcoal and cineritious matter. There was one bone, however, that was singularly perfect, a spheroid bone, which, from its situation, sustained less injury from the flames.

I have little doubt that near this spot once was the depository of the ashes of the dead, and from what we then explored, from the general appearance of dispersed fragments of urns and bones and charcoal, that at the period when this place was destroyed, this cemetery, among the rest, became an object of plunder and devastation. Neither can there be much doubt, I apprehend, on a careful examination of the appearance of the stones and the adjacent soil, that one mode by which this town was destroyed was by fire. Among the remains many pieces of iron nails, some coated with mortar, a piece of lattice made of iron, and a fragment of what appeared to be a key, now in my possession, were picked up. Various bits of vitrified substance were also collected.

Nor was there reason to doubt, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Whitaker, that this place was occupied by a Roman garrison, or rather by a garrison in the pay of Rome, to a very late period, for on repeated occasions, when excavations have been made, and indeed, very lately, a large collection of tiles have been dug up, similar to what it fell to my lot to discover sixteen years ago, with the inscription COH IIII BRE, and which resemble those found at Grimsar,

near Huddersfield, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Some very beautiful specimens of tiles, bearing this inscription, will be exhibited at the approaching exhibition of curiosities, about to take place at the Philosophical Hall in this town.

We have no inscription of a later date than the one above alluded to. Nor is it known by whom the town was finally destroyed. There is, indeed, the evidence of a Saxon coin to show that the Saxons visited the place, and the most probable supposition is, that it was a battle ground for contending armies at an early period, and probably the name by which the place is now known, Slack (or as early documents have it, Slag), may have arisen from this cause. The earliest writings called the fields, which formed the ground plot of Cambodunum, the "EALD FIELDS," a title they retain to the present day, but we still recognise in the name of the township "Scameden," as it is written in the earliest documents, a corruption of the Roman appellation Cambodunum. The aspirate prefixed is not unusual in other languages than the Saxon.

There is a hill called Watch Hill, which formerly had some remains of earth-work on it, and this has usually been considered a Saxon work, though others have determined it to be Roman. There is a place not far from this hill, and situate on a gentle declivity on the side of the Roman road, which the most ancient deeds call the Laches. This term, in the Saxon language, signifies "Cadavera." On this very spot, not more than a century ago, were still visible a considerable number of tumuli, presenting an appearance not unlike an ordinary churchyard, though I can detect no such appearance at the present day. The tradition prevalent accounted for it by supposing that a great battle was fought there, and that the bodies of those that fell were here interred. But it seems quite as probable from the contiguity of the place to the Roman town, that it was a place of interment ordinarily used by the inhabitants. Many coins have, however, been found here, of which no record is preserved; others are recorded by Mr. Watson in his account of his own discoveries in this place. Some years ago a statement appeared in the public papers, of a discovery made in a quarry in the neighbourhood of Slack, of a valuable collection of coins; of these many were of silver, and among many Roman several Greek coins were found. I have never been able to ascertain whether there existed any just ground for crediting this assertion, whether any such discovery was ever made, or into whose hands so valuable a treasure fell; and yet it is difficult to believe that anyone would invent such a paragraph for the mere purpose of amusing a few antiquity-loving readers. If such discovery was made, it is the duty of the fortunate holder of these treasures to favour the world with a correct and circumstantial description of them, as the coins appeared, from the account, of a most valuable kind. It is, however, beyond all doubt, that within a

few miles of Slack many interesting discoveries of coins have been made at different times. One such was made not long ago, near Thurstonland, of which I gave some account in your publication. [See p. 376.] The discovering a gold Roman coin at Holmfirth, in this neighbourhood, shows that the imperial conquerors were familiar with every portion of this mountainous district. Other coins have been found at Elland, in Barkisland and Stainland, and some moulds of coins in my possession found at Lingards. Many other indications of Roman occupancy are to be found in that most ancient part of the parish of Huddersfield, Longwood, and Scammonden. In breaking up some common land of my own near to my country residence, I had the pleasure of bringing to light a Roman millstone, which appears afterwards to have been used by their Saxon successors.

J. K. WALKER, M.D.

[1840, *Part I.*, p. 636.]

A labourer has acquainted me with a discovery made by him a short time ago, in digging in the fields (called the Eald Fields) of a great variety of fragments of urns and vases, which it is very singular should be so much scattered and broken. However, by placing with great care some of these fragments in a state of juxtaposition, it appears designed to represent a hunting scene. There is the figure in relief of a greyhound in full chase after a hare, the whole well executed and forming part of a vase. While on the subject, I beg to call the attention of your readers to an inscription formerly discovered in this Roman settlement on a walling stone.

O REBURRHUI

This inscription is supposed by Mr. Watson to be the name of a centurion. [See note 28.]

J. K. WALKER, M.D.

[1866, *Part I.*, p. 37.]

It appears that excavations are being made, by a local society, at Slack, the supposed site of the *Cambodunum* of the itinerary of Antoninus. A building of considerable extent has been laid open, the rooms of which were heated by means of a hypocaust. The tiles discovered are not unfrequently stamped with the name of a cohort of soldiers, asserted to have been Britons. The inscriptions read C O H. I I I I B R E. There are reasons against this interpretation of the B R E. Inscriptions recording the Britons or Brittones have been met with in the north of England; and many examples of tile stamps, evidently indicating the same people, have been discovered in London. In all of these, the letters B R I, and not B R E, occur. The latter seems peculiar to Slack, unless it be authenticated that such

are also found at Eland, in Yorkshire. I have long since suggested that these tiles, instead of referring to the Britons, denote that the fourth cohort of the *Breuci* was stationed at the locality now known as Slack.

C. ROACH SMITH.

[1866, *Part I.*, p. 817.]

Mr. Barber has discovered the site of a cemetery, indicated by a tile-tomb, in excellent preservation, although it would seem it had been rifled of its contents at some distant period. It resembles that discovered, many years since, by the late Professor Henslow, at Rougham, who printed an illustrated description of it. [*Ante*, pp. 308-317.] The tiles of this tomb are stamped with the peculiar c o h. I I I I B R E. [See note 29.]

C. ROACH SMITH.

THURSTONLAND.

[1838, *Part II.*, p. 650.]

In page 182 [see note 30], I furnished a brief account of certain discoveries of Roman remains in this neighbourhood, and more especially of a collection of Roman coins found near Thurstonland, a few miles from Huddersfield. In consequence of their subsequent dispersion in so many quarters, I was enabled to send the names only of a few of the emperors whose images they bore. I have since heard of several others; but, by the favour of Mr. Morehouse, an intelligent surgeon, living near Thurstonland (whose antiquarian zeal led him to exert himself on this occasion), I can now add the fruit of his labours. The list of coins I have received from him is as follows: Claudius Gothicus—Cl. Tacitus—Victorinus—Tetricus—Gallienus—Carinus—Carausius—C. M. Aur. Probus—and the Empress Mammea Augusta. The discovery of so many coins of the Lower Empire is a strong proof that this part of the kingdom was not abandoned by the Romans till a very late period.

The remains also of some funeral urns, of a very coarse construction, and one more complete than the rest, containing burnt bones, have been found at Deanhead, near Huddersfield. As this part of the country is in the neighbourhood of the ancient Cambodunum, there is every reason to suppose that they are Roman urns; and as it is asserted that similar discoveries have been made near this spot, above forty years ago, there is yet a probability that a more diligent search may be rewarded by other more important discoveries. The township of Scammdon, where these urns were found, is spelt, in the most ancient documents, "Scameden," which appears to me to be nothing more than a continuation of the Roman name Camodunum, divested of its Latin termination, and with the addition of the letter S prefixed.

J. K. W.

YORK.

[1745, p. 18.]

A very antique monumental stone was lately found near Micklegate, in this city. It is of the grit kind, 2 feet 10 inches broad, and appears to have been the base or pedestal of a statue, by the lead where the feet were fixed into it.

The inscription upon it runs thus :

BRITANNIÆ S. (Sanctæ) POSUIT NICOMEDES AUGUSTORUM NOSTRORUM
LIBERTUS. [Huebner, p. 63.]

[1742, p. 330.]

In levelling a place called the Mount without Micklegate Bar, at York, a great quantity of human bones were dug up, which had been laid in two parallel ramparts, from within 2 feet of the surface to about 20 deep ; one Roman coin was discovered, which was of the middle brass of the Emperor Nerva. There were found also two portable lamps of red clay, one of them having the figure of a man with the head of a swine, a falchion in one hand, and a round ball in the other. The head of a dart, about 9 inches long, of iron ; a Roman fibula, or buckle ; two pieces of metal, one enamelled ; an urn of blue clay, with burnt bones in it. Add to these, two cannon bullets and a cross-bar shot, with some musket balls.

[1751, pp. 102, 103.]

As York was undoubtedly the Roman imperial city of Britain, so is it still casually throwing up remains of its ancient magnificence. About two years ago, in digging the foundation of a large house, since built, in our Trans Tyberim Street, called Micklegate, *quasi* Muckle, or Great Street, the workmen went much below any former foundation that could be observed on this spot ; and at a depth of 10 feet, came to a stone, which upon taking up appeared to have figures upon it, but miserably defaced. I sent as just a drawing of it, as could be taken, to my very learned friend Dr. Stukeley, who, according to his deep knowledge in the learning of the ancients, soon after returned the following short, but curious explanation :

"This drawing is a great curiosity. 'Tis a sculpture of Mithras, as usual, sacrificing a bull. He has on the Persian mantle, called "candys," and the Phrygian bonnet, called "tyara." He represents the archimagus, performing the great annual sacrifice at the spring equinox, according to the patriarchal usage.

"These ceremonies to Mithras were generally celebrated in a cave of a rock ; therefore, this sculpture was found so deep in the earth.

"There is commonly a figure on each side of him, habited in the same manner, standing cross-legged. The one holds a torch up, the other down. Here is only the latter, in your sculpture ; the other is imperfect.

"Underneath is the figure of a horse, intimating the sun's course. The two figures attending on the archimagus are inferior officers to him. There is a mystery in their standing cross-legged, like our effigies of crusaders in churches, and it means the same thing, for the cross was one part of the Mithraic ceremonies. These two, by the different attitude of their torches, represent day and night, as Mithras represents the sun. The figure imperfectly drawn, at the tail of the horse, is, I believe, a genius, twisted round with a snake; which means the vitality imparted to all things by the solar power.

"The other figures are too imperfect to trouble you with conjectures about them; but they all regard the same design. They are officiating priests, and dressed in a symbolic manner, to intimate the sun's influence and annual motion.

"The Romans became extremely fond of the Mithraic sacreds, whence here you find this sculpture in the imperial city. I saw an image of Mithras at Chester, and no doubt there are many more in Britain.

"St. Jerom, in his epistle to Læta, writes: 'A few years ago your cozen Gracchus, a name of Patrician quality, when he was præfect of the city, destroyed, broke, and burnt the cave of Mithras.' This was at Rome, and about the year 387. Not long after, we may well imagine, your Roman præfect of York followed his example, and demolished the subterranean temple in Micklegate, where this sculpture of him was found.

W. STUKELEY.

We see several figures in Monfaucon's "*Antiq. of Mithras*," one very like this.

[1752, p. 402.]

As I am a constant reader of your magazine, and never gave you any trouble in this way before, I flatter myself you will readily insert, in your next, the following Roman inscription, found very lately, by digging in a street called Micklegate, in the city of York: [Huebner, p. 63.]

MATRIBUS AFRICANIS, ITALICIS, GALLICIS.

MARCUS MINUTIUS MUDE,

MILES LEGIONIS SEPTÆ VICTRICIS,

GUBERNATRICIBUS LEGIONIS SEPTÆ

VOTUM SOLVIT LAETVS LIBENS MERITO.

Yours, etc. LASENBIENSIS.

[1770, p. 391.]

Was discovered in Friars Gardens, York, part of the foundation of an old Roman temple, with the foundation stone, on which was inscribed DEO. SANCTI. SERAPI. TEMPLUM. A SOLO. FECIT. CL. HIERONOMYANUS. LEG. VI. VICT., with some Roman coins of Vespasian, and others much defaced. [See page 379.]

[1821, *Part II.*, p. 557.]

In excavating the ground in Micklegate, York, for the purpose of making cellars to three new houses, some human bones, and deep black mould, evidently constituted of animal or vegetable decomposed matter, were discovered; and, a day or two after, a sepulchral urn, in the most perfect state as to proportion, colour, and parts; a few fragments of lachrymatories, and several unquestionable Roman coins, were also dug up. It would appear that the great Roman road or street ran through Micklegate, and that the present site of the newly-discovered bones is a portion of that extensive burying-place of the Romans which appears to commence north of the Bishophill, and to terminate with the plain tumulus which stands beyond the mount. The urn is of red clay, without letters, ornaments or embossment.

[1823, *Part I.*, p. 633.]

A short time ago, as some workmen were digging a cellar on a piece of ground lately purchased by Mr. Knowlson, on the left hand side of the road, at the southern extremity of the Mount, they found eight Roman urns, of various sizes, four of which were quite perfect, but the others were broken—some containing burnt ashes, and one of them, which was larger than the others, containing a great number of bones. They found an old copper coin of one of the Roman emperors, but with the inscription so much defaced as to be scarcely legible. There were also, at the same time, dug up a great number of skulls and other human bones.

[1825, *Part II.*, p. 75.]

As some workmen were lately employed in making a drain near Fossbridge, in York, they discovered three distinct pavements, at various distances below the surface of the street, the lower one, at the depth of about 12 feet, having the appearance of being formed upon a swampy ground, which in all probability had formerly been the bed of the river; a conjecture which is farther strengthened by the fact that some planks, evidently the sides of a ship or other vessel, were found amongst the rubbish. Several clippings of leather were also found, and amongst them some shoe-soles, which prove to be formed of untanned hides, and what is most singular, they are made rights and lefts.

[1833, *Part I.*, p. 357.]

In removing some buildings in the Mint Yard, near Bootham Bar, York, for the purpose of forming a new street, a flat inscribed stone has been found, 3 feet by 2, which was no doubt originally inserted in some conspicuous part of the building whose erection it records. The following is a copy of the inscription: DEO SANCTO SERAPI TEMPLUM A SOLO FECIT CL. HIERONYMIANVS LEG. LEG. VI. VIC. *i.e.*,

Claudius Hieronymianus, Lieutenant of the Sixth Legion, Victrix, erected this temple from the ground to the god Serapis. [Huebner, p. 64.]

Another Roman vestige has been discovered in constructing a new house for Mr. Ethelby, by the side of the south road, a mile out of York. About 3 feet under the surface of the ground a Roman sepulchre was excavated, composed of four of those tiles, turned up at the edges, which are known in their original application to have been used for the roofs of Roman buildings. The ends rested one against the other, and the backs, having a slight curvature, the opening between the tiles resembled in some degree a Gothic arch; each end was closed by a tile, and the top was protected by the semi-circular long tiles, which were used by the Romans to close the interstices left between those first described. Specimens of both have been engraved in our vol. xcix., part i., p. 401, in illustration of Mr. Kempe's communication concerning antiquities in Warbank Field, Kent, Nos. 12 and 13 of the plate. [*Ante*, pp. 147-150.] The tiles correspond in dimensions with those found at Warbank, and like them (see the above-mentioned engraving) were impressed with finger-marks, the feet of animals, etc. Those found at York are inscribed LEG. VI. VI. according to the report of the *York Herald*, which may undoubtedly be corrected LEG. VI. VICT., as what we have said on the subject of the Sixth Legion will show.

Within the space enclosed by the tiles was found a quantity of bones, charcoal, and some iron nails, but no urn, fibulæ, or coins. The ground about the tomb had been excavated to the depth of 4 feet to a considerable extent, probably to form a sort of ustrina in which to erect the funeral pile. The ashes, when the body was consumed, had been scraped together and covered by the tiles, over which had probably been raised an oblong mound of turf. A sepulchre of very similar form was found at York about the year 1768, and is delineated in the "*Archæologia*," vol. ii., p. 177.

[1835, *Part II.*, p. 302.]

An elegant relic was recently turned up between York and Dringhouses, a site rich in Roman remains. It is a signet of iron, contained in a case of silver, or some mixture of which silver constitutes the principal part; and its form is as near as possible to that of a modern eyeglass, neatly engraven, and the rivets of brass. It has a ring at the top, by which it has, in all probability, been attached to a chain, and thus worn as an ornament to the person. On one side is a profile of Flavius Domitian with the inscription FLAVIVS DOMI.; and on the other a man on horseback, raising a whip in his hand, inscribed HOMO ET EQVVS. Every part of the engraving is distinct and perfect, the iron having been preserved by the metal in which it is inclosed.

[1836, *Part I.*, p. 82.]

On the 9th of November, while the workmen engaged in levelling the Castle Yard, York, were digging for a drain, about 7 or 8 feet below the surface, not far from the governor's house, they found a stone coffin, about 7 feet long, with a lid of great thickness, weighing nearly a ton; and proceeding further, another of nearly the same size and shape, the lid being of less thickness, lying abreast and about 3 feet apart, nearer to the County Courts. Each of these contained a skeleton, and one of them bears this inscription:—"Aur. Supero Cent. Leg. vi. qui vix. annis xxxviii, m. iii, d. xiii. Aurelia Censorina conjux memoriam posuit." [Huebner, p. 65.]

1839, *Part I.*, pp. 640, 641.]

On the 6th of June, 1838, some remains were discovered near Holdgate, by the men employed in constructing the York and North Midland Railway. The most perfect and most valuable is a stone Roman coffin, which was found at the depth of 2 or 3 feet below the earth, at the east side of the line. It was secured by the council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. It is composed of grit-stone; was covered by a stone lid, and contained a human skeleton; evidently, however, not that of the child whose name and age are indicated in the following inscription, which is cut on the right side of the coffin. The measurement of the relic is 4 feet in length by 20 inches. [Huebner, p. 65.]

D. M. SIMPLICIAE * FLORENTINE
ANIME INNOCENTISSIME
QUE * VIXIT MENSES DECEM
FELICIUS * SIMPLEX * PATER FECIT
LEG. VI. V.

A second coffin, of large dimensions, was found the next day, but with no inscription; it contained the skeleton of a man, or woman, besides that of a bird, supposed to be a dove. It also was removed to the Museum. The skeleton of a horse was likewise found, in an upright position, near the place where the coffins were discovered.

[1840, *Part II.*, p. 528.]

As some labourers were at work in the lawn to the south of Melton House, Yorkshire, the residence of Charles Whitaker, Esq., they discovered a skeleton, it is conjectured of a young woman. In digging the foundations for some posts, this remnant of mortality was found in a state of great decay, the bones of the skull, on being removed, crumbling to pieces. Close to the skull was found a species of brooch, probably gold, very antique, and having the appearance of a Roman fibula. The body was not more than 18 inches below the surface, in a bed of chalk stone.

[1851, *Part II.*, p. 418.]

The *York Herald* states that a tessellated pavement has just been discovered on Cherry Hill, at York. The portion excavated is about 11 feet by 8, and, from the description given, appears to be of a very elegant geometric pattern: but at present the excavations are suspended in order to obtain permission of the owner of the property to lay the ground open. The pavement has therefore been covered over to hinder ignorant persons and silly curiosity-hunters from breaking it up to carry off specimens.

[1852, *Part II.*, p. 183.]

Some excavations for building purposes at York have brought to light some interesting Roman monuments. One is part of an ornamental tablet in grit-stone, 2 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 3 inches, inscribed—

. . . . VOC . FIL
 . . . O VARIA
 . . X. HISP. HERE
 PATRONO
 . . . NI FECERVNT

At least half of the inscription is missing. [Huebner, p. 64.]

The second is the upper part of another sepulchral monument, 4 feet by 2 feet 6 inches, exhibiting a figure of a civilian holding a scroll in one hand, and some ears of corn on a branch in the other; above him is a bull's head. The stone is ornamented with fanciful columns at the sides. The lower part, which contained the inscription, is wanting.

The third sculpture represents a sphinx. It is 2 feet 6 inches in length, and is thus described:—"A female figure with wings, in a sitting posture, the head leaning on one side, and hair flowing in several divisions over the face and behind the shoulders, with a portion formed into a knot behind the head; the breast prominent, the body projecting forward, and the feet have originally been inclosed in the hands, with a long tail twisted round the left side of the seat. The feet and hands have, however, been broken off, but the left arm and part of a leg remain, which show the original position of them. The pedestal is only 4 inches thick." The figure of the sphinx is in a low style of art, inferior in workmanship and design to that found at Colchester. Both, it will be observed, have been found on the site of cemeteries, and probably served as decorations to sepulchral monuments of a superior kind.

The fourth is a massive grit-stone, 2 feet 4 inches high and 2 feet square, with a hole in the centre 9 inches deep.

The locality where objects have been exhumed is on the outside of the south entrance to York, at the place called the Mount, where, in

past times, many antiquities have been found.—*London Weekly Paper.*

[1853, *Part I.*, p. 398.]

Among the Roman remains recently discovered in York is a fine tessellated pavement, measuring 13 feet 6 inches by 13 feet. It was found by Mr. Bedford, a builder, who was making an excavation for a public drain on the Toft Green, at a depth of 6 feet 6 inches from the surface. The Board of Health having presented this pavement to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, it was carefully laid bare, and proved to be the finest yet found at York. In the centre is a figure representing Medusa, in a square of 2 feet, and four other squares of the same dimensions contain figures emblematical of the seasons. The whole is surrounded with elaborate border patterns.

[1860, *Part II.*, p. 222.]

On August the 2nd was discovered in Goodramgate, near to Monk Bar, York, on the right-hand side of the street, in digging the foundation of a house, a Roman well of very good masonry. There were found near it several human bones.

I am, etc. W. H. CLARKE.

[1861, *Part I.*, p. 48.]

We are indebted to the editor of the *Yorkshire Gazette* for the following communication:

"About the end of last November the workmen engaged in the erection of Mr. Lund's new houses near Monk Bar, whilst removing some earth forming the ancient rampart of the city walls, discovered a mass of masonry, which on being bared was found to be of Roman workmanship, and to be part of the walls of Eboracum. Already a depth of about 8 feet of wall has been excavated, and it is in most perfect preservation. The construction is of a most compact and solid character, with alternate courses of stone and rubble. The front of the wall is faced with stone; its width is irregular, and the earth has not yet been sufficiently cleared away to ascertain the correct dimensions. Apparently several feet of the upper part of the wall have been removed. So far as can be ascertained, the wall runs parallel with the present city walls extending to Layerthorpe-bridge, and this discovery fully bears out the conjectures of the late Mr. Wellbeloved as to its supposed position and the original dimensions of ancient York under the Romans."

[1861, *Part I.*, p. 594.]

Some very interesting remains have been found near Monk Bar, in digging the foundation for a house on the Mount.

Among the articles are various pieces of pottery, either sepulchral

urns or vessels for domestic use. A very perfect and beautiful example was also found of the glass jar which sometimes took the place of pottery as a receptacle for the ashes of the dead. When extracted from the earth it was half filled with bones. The glass is partially opalized by long lying in the ground, but it has happily escaped fracture. The most interesting, however, of the antiquities discovered is a tablet of grit-stone, dedicated by her father to the manes of Corellia Optata, who died at the age of 13. It is in hexameter verse, and the father, bewailing his hard lot, declares that he has placed an image of his daughter over the handful of ashes which alone remained of her. The upper part of the tablet which contained this figure has been broken off, only the feet remaining.

[The following were accidentally omitted from their proper places in the preceding pages.]

Cornwall.—TREGILGAS.

[1787, *Part II.*, p. 1055.]

I herewith transmit to you a drawing of part of a Roman fibula (fig. 3) lately dug up by some stream-tinners in Tregilgas Moor, in the parish of St. Ewe, in Cornwall. It was found at about 6 feet under the surface, and is of pure gold. The drawing is of the size of the piece of gold. It may be justly considered as a valuable curiosity, as so few remains of the Romans have been found in this county, and as it is peculiarly neat in its construction. You may therefore, perhaps, think it not unworthy of a place in your excellent repository. It was more perfect when it was first dug up than it is at present, as part of the tongue at one end was broken off by the merciless pincers of a goldsmith to whom it was unfortunately first offered for sale.

CORNUBIENSIS.

Cumberland.

CAST STEEDS.

[1741, p. 650.]

The Roman altar lately found at Cast Steeds, in Cumberland, with other curiosities there, communicated by G. Smith, Esq. [then follows the block].

1742, pp. 30, 31.]

The inscription on the Roman altar, and an account of the other figures, p. 627, by George Smith, Esq.

JOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO
 ET NUMINI AUGUSTI NOSTRI
 COHORS SECUNDA TUNGRORUM
 GORDIANA MILLIARIA EQUITATA
 CIVIUM LATINORUM
 CUI PRÆEST SICILIUS CLAUDIANUS,
 PRÆFECTUS INSTANTE AELIO MARTINO
 PRINCIPE DECIMO KAL. I. IMPERATORE
 DOM. NOSTRO GORDIANO AUGUSTO II. POMPEIANO CONSULIBUS.

The *ci* is *cl*, for the bottom of these letters is destroyed, and I read it *Sicinus*, or *Sicilius*, or *Sicilianus Claudianus*. I observed something like an —ON before *PRAEC*; but as they were very small to the rest, I shall not read them *Pannonia*.

In the *N* of *MART N* there seemed to be a connection of an *R I* and *o*, which induces me to read it *Martirino*; but I think the name hardly Roman. [Huebner, 154.]

Fig. 1 is the altar which was found in the bank of the rivulet Cambeck, near a very large Roman fort called *Petrianis* by Horsley, just where the wall of *Severus* crosses the said rivulet, and removed by Mrs. Appleby to her house at *Cast Steeds*, where it now is [*ante*, pp. 34, 35].

Fig. 2 is the *rota* on the side opposite to the *fulmen*. Fig. 3, another fragment of an altar. Figs. 4 and 5 are two curious pieces of a glass bowl preserved by Mrs. Appleby. One of them has the name of *Acteon* in Greek capitals, cut with the adamant, I suppose; and the other, which is a piece of the same bowl, has a dog's head fair on it, so that the fable of that prince has been engraved on the bowl.

Fig. 6, another fragment of a stone found at *Cast Steeds*.

In the wood where the fort has been, that lady found some time ago, buried in the rubbish, a regular clay floor, with several pedestals upon it, and betwixt every two of them a hollow parallelopipedon of burnt clay of 16 inches long and 6 wide, with a hole through the opposite sides. The use of these pedestals is hard to be conjectured, unless to carry off the damp from the floor which was laid over it; but as pipes went through these holes, it would rather seem like a contrivance to warm a hot bath. Mr. Ward's opinion about these would be of service. I have drawn what are left of them, with the form of the hollow clay at *A*, but the lady tells me there is not one-fourth of them left that were there when she first discovered it.

G. SMITH.

[1747, p. 60.]

The figure of a stone found in *Cast Steeds Garden*, near the grand fort *Petrianis*.

An explanation of the inscription is desired from the learned. [Huebner, 157.]

D. M.
 GEMELLI. C. A.
 FL. HLARO. S.H.F.O.

NETHERBY.

[1750, *p.* 27.]

I send you enclosed the draught of an hypocaustum, or bath, discovered at Netherby, ten miles north from Carlisle. You may compare it with another at Cast Steeds communicated to you (see vol. xi., *p.* 650; vol. xii., *pp.* 30, 31; and vol. xvii., *p.* 60).

The rooms marked *c* were the sudatories, or sweating-places, where the people retired after bathing; *aa* were for exercise, etc. That marked *f*, a bath for ablution—a necessary part of the heathen theology in the worship of Fortune, to whom the altar is consecrated, which is also in another of your magazines (see vol. x., *p.* 171). [*Ante*, *p.* 34.] The communicating funnels (*b*) supplied the fire with fresh pabulum of air, and at the same time the pipes (*d*) heated the sudatories.

G. SMITH.

A more particular explanation :

aaaa. Thirty-six pillars of square tile, one laid above another, and a little cement between: they were about 2 inches thick, and each pillar was about a yard high.

bb. Two funnels, or air-pipes.

cc. Fifty-four pillars of solid stone, thirty-six of which were covered with flags, and cemented above.

ddd. Three hollowed tiles, or pipes, through the wall.

e. The sacrifice-room, where the altar was found, with the inscription.

f. The bath, discovered in the year 1732.

N.B.—Most of the rooms were floored with a small thick flag, laid in cement, with three courses of pavement below.

PETRIANA.

[1794, *Part II.*, *pp.* 980, 981.]

I send you the impression of a gold fibula (*fig. 4*) lately found about a quarter of a mile west from the old Roman station Petriana, now commonly called Old Penrith, about five miles from the present town of that name, in Cumberland, where very considerable ruins of a Roman fort still remain. The fibula is in very high preservation, and the engraving perfect, except in one place, where the figure of the animal is wanting. There are some faint lines, which may be supposed to represent a peacock; but, from the gold being rather thinner in that part than in any other (which is more perceptible to the touch than to the eye), it is probable that it has been originally intended to bear the same figure as the other five animals upon the same side, and that it has either been left imperfect from the first, or defaced by some accidental circumstance. The metal, however, it must be observed, appears nearly as smooth and *perfect* there as in any other part, except its substance being thinner, and the repre-

sentation incomplete. The fibula weighs 14 dwts. 12 grains; is about three-sixteenths of an inch thick. The tongue rests against a small indented place in the inner part of the circle, is rounded at the point, and turns to either side. The animals on one side I suppose to be griffins.

Devonshire.—EXETER.

[1834, *Part II.*, pp. 40, 41.]

In pulling down some old houses in South Street, near the Conduit, and sinking the ground deeper at the back, an elegant pavement adorned with crosses, arabesques, fishes, escutcheons, etc., as the annexed representation, was discovered. It is supposed to have been that of an ancient bath.

The square, flat, ornamental tiles of which it was composed (for it is now taken up, and the tiles in possession of different people at Exeter) are probably of Flemish origin, and imported perhaps about the year 1250, when the bath was repaired afresh by the monks, as it adjoins the ancient buildings of their college near the Conduit. The flue which heated this bath is in the wall to the left, proceeding, no doubt, originally from a hypocaust, stove, or furnace outside; and close to it, directly under the wall, and on a level with the pavement, was found a coin of the Lower Empire, with the head of Philip the Elder, radiant, and AVG. The walls are partly of Heavitree red stone, and partly of small red clinkers or bricks. Roman tesserae were found in great abundance on the same spot, indicating the existence of a tessellated or chequered pavement; also fragments of Roman sepulchral urns of black sun-baked clay, intermixed with bones, cinders, and pieces of red pottery and glass, but none in a perfect state. On the interior of a small red terra-cotta vessel from the same spot (unfortunately broken) the inscription REGINI. M. is perfectly legible, and seems to show that a body of Rhetian troops were once quartered at Exeter, called Regini Milites, from the ancient city Reginum, in Lower Bavaria, now called Ratisbon, and formerly Regensburg, being at the influx of the Regen into the Danube.

Essex.—COLCHESTER.

[1822, *Part I.*, pp. 107-111.]

A letter to the committee of the Essex and Colchester General Hospital has been published by Mr. Hay, as well as remarks in the *Quarterly Journal of Science* for 1821, upon the subject of a group representing "A Sphinx holding between her paws a Victim," being discovered at Colchester.

The following is a description extracted from Mr. Hay's pamphlet:

"Your beautiful relick of the antique splendor of *Camulodunum* was found lying upon its right side, at 2 feet from the surface of the

soil, being about 10 paces distant from the west wall of the hospital, and about 55 paces from the London road. I dug up close to it a considerable fragment of the tibia of the right leg of a human being, from its strength appearing to be that of a man, and from the sharpness of its angles (produced by muscular action) was, no doubt, the limb of one who had undergone a life of much fatigue.

"The group is of freestone, of probably rather a loose texture, although, indeed, it may have put on this appearance, from the effects of the soil under which it must have lain buried for so many ages.

"It was found in a perfect state, with some few exceptions of slight or immaterial fracture, as upon the mouth of the sphinx, upon the chin of the man, upon the lower parts of the figure on the left side, and a fracture of a bone upon the right side of the base. There are also certain marks of friction, which have considerably injured the lower part of the left arm and its fore-paw; as also the lower part of the hind-leg."

The high character assigned to the figure, and the observations flowing from its association, are of sufficient importance to call for an examination of some of the postulata assigned by Mr. Hay as grounds for deciding upon the statue as a genuine Roman representation of the Theban Sphinx. There are many peculiar difficulties connected with the point itself which do not appear solved, and as the circumstance has excited considerable interest, those arguments upon which Mr. Hay rests his proof will be candidly examined.

First, he suggests that a Roman temple dedicated to Claudius was, according to Tacitus, erected at Camulodunum, and most probably on the identical spot wherein the sphinx was found.

Secondly, that the sphinx group, therefore, formed an accessory ornament to the entrance of this temple.

Thirdly, a sphinx appears on the British coins of Cunobelin found at Colchester; and as this British prince was much favoured by Augustus, and that emperor's favourite seal was a sphinx signet, therefore it most likely became the appropriate emblem of this city.

[The writer then advances arguments against these propositions, and concludes as follows:]

Since penning the foregoing remarks, the writer has observed a sphinx, No. 84 of the Greek and Roman sculptures, in the British Museum, markedly resembling the features and size of the subject of Mr. Hay's memoir, but without *any compound association* of victim. The position is very similar, and it is designated as part of a *candelabrum*, which appropriation was most probably the true one of the Colchester sphinx, whether a genuine Roman subject, or a mere modern copy.

E.

Gloucestershire.—CIRENCESTER.

[1840, *Part I.*, p. 192.]

A man named White, lately digging a pit in his garden in search of gravel, on the west side of Gloucester Street (formerly St. Lawrence Street) in Cirencester, discovered at a depth of 5 or 6 feet a perfect human skeleton, apparently that of a grown-up young woman, lying horizontally with its head towards the east. The skull was turned upon the right shoulder, and two nails, about 2 or 3 inches in length, were found driven into the place of the left ear. The teeth appeared perfect and complete. Many fragments of urns and other articles undoubtedly Roman, including coins, were discovered at the same time. The roots of a yew-tree, planted forty years ago near this spot, had extended over the skeleton. Some of the pottery bears very distinct ornamental patterns. A number of Roman coins were found in the commencement of the cutting of the Cheltenham and Great Western Union Railway some time since, to the south of the town, and few places are more interesting to the antiquary than this ancient and important station of the Romans.

Hertfordshire.—VERULAMIUM.

[1848, *Part II.*, pp. 143-147.]

The Theatre.—For some time past excavations have been in progress within the precincts of the Roman city of Verulamium, near St. Albans, towards the expenses of which the St. Albans Architectural Society, the Archæological Institute of Great Britain, and the Archæological Association have contributed; and we have now before us a very interesting memoir on the subject, read before the first of these societies, by R. Grove Lowe, Esq., the substance of which we shall proceed to extract.

Mr. Lowe states that, with a view to the preparation of a description of Verulam (in which he had previously believed there were no remains of any structure, except the external defensive walls), his attention was last autumn directed to part of a road, which, till about twenty years ago, was the highroad from London to Holyhead, but is now a private road from St. Albans to Gorbamby, the seat of the Earl of Verulam—perhaps at this point it runs to the ancient Watling Street. He observed four or five flints embedded in mortar in the bank on the north-east side, and, on closer examination, an appearance that the road was, in one spot, actually composed of the foundation of a building. The flints appeared to have formed part of the walls of a roadside house or barn; but finding, on reference to old maps, that no building had for some centuries stood on that site, he conjectured they were of Roman construction. With Lord Verulam's permission, he commenced an excavation, which, in the following week, was adopted by the St. Albans Architectural Society.

Foundations were then laid open, which are shown on the north-east side of the plan. The carriage-wheels at one spot rolled on the foundation of a wall, unprotected by any layer of gravel: the road having been formed probably in the Saxon period over these remains, they have been protected from any further disturbance. The removal of the accumulation of road-materials, hardened by the traffic of so many centuries, was a very laborious operation. These foundations are 327 feet from the road to Hemel Hempstead, and a quarter of a mile to the north of the centre of Verulam.

As soon as that excavation was completed, Mr. Lowe was informed that fragments of walls had been struck upon in ploughing the adjoining field; one of them was partly laid open, but that excavation was discontinued, in consequence of finding a labourer employed in taking up foundations in the same field, which, from their width, appeared to have belonged to some public edifice. Two of the fragments were then laid open, and ascertained to form concentric curves; and as soon as their radius could be measured, more than half a circle was observed to be defined by a gentle undulation round a slight hollow in the field.

After the walls had been traced beyond a semicircle, much interest was excited to ascertain if they had belonged to a theatre or amphitheatre: there was a difficulty in coming to either conclusion, no Roman theatre having been previously known to exceed a semicircle, and the form of amphitheatres being, not a circle, but an ellipse. At length one of the cross walls passing from the innermost of the two outer walls to the stage was discovered, which clearly showed the building was intended for theatrical exhibitions. The great depth of the earth, and the inadequacy of pecuniary resources, prevented a perfect exploration of the third circular wall, and of an inner wall, which have only been laid open at a few points.

In consequence of the land on the north-east side of the road not being the property of Lord Verulam, and being in pasture, the first excavation was not pursued in that direction; consequently, so small a part of the foundation of the building in the road has been laid open, that its purpose cannot be ascertained. Its outer or south-west wall is parallel with the stage of the theatre, and at a distance of 49 feet from its most north-eastern wall. It commences opposite the centre of the theatre, and extends south-east 89 feet, being 6 feet less than the semi-diameter of the theatre. The top of this foundation wall is 7 feet 6 inches below the presumed level of the corridor of the theatre. At 30 feet from its south-eastern end it is perforated with a sewer, the bottom of which, being 5 feet below the lowest part of the theatre, it may have been connected with its drainage. (This sewer is shown in the plan.) It contained bones of animals, mixed with sharp, coarse sand, evidently transported by a rapid current.

The foundations of all the theatre, except the innermost wall and one of the side rooms, have been laid open or satisfactorily traced.

Where in the plan a shade is shown between the outlines, the foundations have not been disturbed lower than was necessary to obtain the first course of Roman tiles. Where walls are shown by outlines only, the earth has not been excavated, or only loose building-rubbish has been met with.

The theatre of Verulam was 190 feet 3 inches in diameter. The two outer walls are on the plan of the Greek theatres; they comprise 240 degrees of a circle; between them was a corridor 9 feet wide. The corridor did not afford a continuous communication round the theatre, for it was interrupted at the entrances by the stairs which crossed the corridor down into the lower part of the theatre, and also probably by walls where foundations are shown on the south-eastern side, which was most probably the position of the stairs ascending to the seats over the corridor, but possibly of stairs descending to a passage to the stage under the spectators' seats, for the entry of characters appearing to come from the infernal regions.

The stage contained only the limited space of 46 feet long and 8 feet 9 inches deep. According to the principles which prevailed among the ancients, it should have been about twice that length, and in a Greek theatre 9 feet, and in a Roman theatre 16 feet, in depth. In all the ancient theatres, as far as can be ascertained, the walls connecting the front of the stage with the outer walls were in the same line; but in the theatre of Verulam they slant 10 feet, giving additional space to the theatre, by throwing back the stage further from the centre than if the usual rules of construction had been observed. The oblique direction of these walls afforded a better view of the performance from some of the side seats.

Ten feet in width of the space between what appears to have been the front of the stage and the cross wall, 16 feet 6 inches from such supposed front, is gained by the obliquity of the side walls.

The use to which this space was devoted is not clearly apparent. As the external form of the building accords with the Grecian model, the internal arrangements were probably adapted to the entertainments represented in the theatres of that nation, and this space may have been devoted to the chorus, and so have rendered the limited area of the stage sufficient for the other actors, or, as usual in the theatres of the great cities of the Macedonian time, it may have formed a lower stage for mimes, musicians, and dancers. It is possible, however, that it contained the seats of persons of the very highest rank. The wall shown on the north-west side of that space is only a covered sewer.

At the east part of the theatre at Verulam was a room with a coarse tessellated pavement without any pattern, composed of tesserae of Roman tiles about 1 inch square, laid on a very thin layer of concrete. This was one of the rooms usually found at the sides of the stage of ancient theatres for the use of the performers. The foundations of a corresponding room on the west side of the stage have not been

found. The ground naturally sloped to the north, and has been raised by an accumulation of soil and building-rubbish, which may account for the failure of the endeavours to discover the foundations of that room, and of the portico and colonnade, which were usually placed at the back of the ancient theatres, as a refuge for the audience from rain. At this latter point, however, were dug up two fragments, part of columns, $24\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, of the fossiliferous oolite called Caen stone, but found in some parts of England. These are the only pieces of carved stone which can be traced to Verulam. Many varieties of sandstone and limestone appear to have been used in the construction of the theatre, as well as slabs of white marble $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick.

The outer wall of the theatre was 5 feet 10 inches thick, the second wall 3 feet 6 inches, the scena 2 feet 6 inches, and all the other walls 2 feet thick. The external wall of the building in the road varied from 7 to 2 feet thick. They were all constructed with the same materials; the foundation was composed of flints and a few pieces of chalk, on which, on the natural level of the site, was laid a horizontal course of two or three Roman tiles. At one point this course has not been removed, and upon it remains a fragment, 2 feet high, of a wall of flints, cut and faced, so that 3 feet may have intervened, as in the city walls, between the bonding courses of tiles. Tiles were also used at the quoins. The mortar used in the walls was of the usual materials, lime and sand and small stones; but the sides of the walls in the road were filled in, where the earth had been removed in digging the foundations, with mortar partly, but in very varying proportions, composed of pounded tile, imparting to the mortar a pink colour. Loose pieces of the same coloured mortar were frequently met with in excavating the theatre; but it appears not to have been used in the walls. Mortar of this kind was commonly used by the Romans.

There is some difference in the construction of the external defensive walls and those of the internal buildings of the city. The flints appear in the former to have been less carefully faced, and the interior is in a greater measure composed of waterworn fragments of flint. The materials were laid in all the walls with mortar of the same consistence as that now used, which was left at intervals to dry, so as to prevent bulging.

An entrance at the centre, opposite the stage, and another on the east side, have been partially laid open: no trace is discoverable of the corresponding entrance on the west side, in consequence of the foundation of the innermost of the two outer walls having been obliterated at that part of the theatre. The entrances immediately after passing through the arch or door in the outer wall descended down an incline, probably having steps (the innermost of the two outer walls being cut away to the depth of 2 feet 3 inches), to the

lower rows of the gallery. The seats over the corridor, and perhaps some of the upper rows in the gallery, were over the entrances. The front entrance is 7 feet, and the side entrance 10 feet wide.

The space over the corridor being 12 feet wide, including the thickness of the top of the inner wall, might contain three or four rows of seats; fourteen other rows of seats might be contained in the space 33 feet wide between the corridor and the outermost of the two inner walls. And the two innermost walls might have furnished room for two other rows, making altogether twenty rows, which would require an elevation of about 25 feet; so, the orchestra being 10 feet below the level of the corridor, the highest seat over the latter must have been 15 feet above such level.

The fourth wall is only shown in the plan where it is laid open in three places, from 6 to 2 feet distance from the third circular wall. It probably formed a separation for some privileged class—the space it surrounded was the orchestra for the seats of the most distinguished persons.

The discovery of many fragments of roof-tiles suggested the possibility that there might have been a roof; but in that case we should not have found within the theatre the sewer before alluded to.

All the walls of the theatre (except, perhaps, the exterior) were painted in fresco. The walls were first plastered with mortar, some of it the pink mortar described, one or even upwards of 2 inches thick in one coat. Only one fragment has been met with composed of two coats. The mortar was reduced to a perfectly even surface; on this was laid a covering of the finest mortar, perfectly white, seldom thicker than card-paper; and on this, while both the coatings of mortar remained wet, were laid mineral water-colours, which adhered to, and dried with it, and in a slight degree added to the durability of the surface. The colours being native colours, and not artificially prepared, time and damp cannot affect them, and so, as long as the mortar retains its surface, the colours remain uninjured. Walls painted in fresco were generally covered with an encaustic varnish composed of Punic wax, tempered with a little oil. This being warmed with an iron pan, adhered to the mortar, which was then polished by being rubbed with a cloth; but no trace of any such process is perceptible on the fresco paintings of this theatre. The fragments found must have been for centuries exposed to the action of sun, and wet, and frost, and for many centuries to the damp of the earth. After a lapse of fifteen centuries since these colours were used, most of them remain uninjured. They are chiefly red and blue verditer, but many other shades are used. The prevailing pattern ran in broad lines, and probably formed compartments, or panels, as usually found on ancient fresco walls. Some of the lines forming the panels are excellent imitations of porphyry.

The theatre was probably left to fall into ruins from the period

when England ceased to be a Roman colony, early in the fifth century. The invasion of the Saxons commenced about 450. We can only conjecture the period of its destruction. At the building of St. Albans church and monastery in 793, and on the erection of the churches of St. Peter, St. Stephen, and St. Michael, about 950, large quantities of building materials must have been required; but, with the exception of those used for St. Michael's church, they were probably taken from the eastern part of Verulam. The great demolition of the city took place to prepare for the rebuilding the Abbey church and monastery, in 1077.

As is usual round all ancient buildings in England, there had been an accumulation of earth round the walls of the theatre previous to their demolition. For when, on that occasion, the workmen removed the lowest layer of tiles, which was about the natural level of the site, the earth immediately fell in, or was thrown over the foundations, which had not subsequently either been trodden upon, or exposed to the weather, the mortar being left quite sharp and uninjured. From these facts we may safely infer that many centuries had elapsed between the desertion and demolition; though, from the good preservation of the painted mortar on the walls, we might have inferred that they had not for so long a period been exposed to the severe frosts of this latitude.

The cavea of the theatre is filled with artificial soil 9 feet deep, some of which must have been brought there; though it is difficult to estimate how far it might have resulted from the levelling power of the plough and harrow, and wind and rain.

The only relics found during the excavations were a brass fibula, or brooch, having apparently an enamelled centre, a few fragments of green glass, and a great variety of broken pottery. Two pieces, of the description called Samian ware, bear the manufacturers' names, commencing "Donat." and "Sev." The coins found have been arranged by Mr. Evans, of Abbot's Langley, as follows:

Tiberius - - - - -	1	Urbs Roma - - - - -	4
Trajanus - - - - -	1	Constantinopolis - - -	4
Philippus (Pater) - - -	1	Crispus - - - - -	1
Gallienus - - - - -	3	Constantinus II. - - -	8
Salonina - - - - -	1	Constans - - - - -	11
Postumus (Pater) - - -	1	Constantius II. - - -	8
Victorinus - - - - -	3	Decentius - - - - -	1
Tetricus (Pater) - - -	10	Valentinianus I. - - -	3
Tetricus (Filius) - - -	1	Valens - - - - -	6
Claudius Gothicus - - -	5	Gratianus - - - - -	2
Carausius - - - - -	3	Arcadius - - - - -	2
Helena - - - - -	1	Uncertain - - - - -	86
Theodora - - - - -	1		
Constantinus Magnus - -	2		
Populus Romanus - - -	1		

The building-tiles are generally about 16 inches long, and from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, and from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. The flue-tiles are 6 inches across. The scored tiles, and those with the sides raised for roofs, are only in fragments.

[1851, *Part I.*, pp. 517, 518.]

We are sorry to hear that an attempt has recently been made to remove 130 yards of the remains of the Roman Wall at Verulam. It appears that the wall to this extent was given up by its owner to be pulled down, and that it has been undermined for that purpose, but the extreme solidity of the masonry has, up to the present moment, given a respite to this interesting fragment. Verulam seems particularly unfortunate. None of the curious remains found there have been preserved. The remains of the Roman theatre, a plan of which was published by Mr. Grove Lowe, have been carted away. The site has since yielded a crop of turnips, and is now, we believe, sown with corn.

Lincolnshire.—LINCOLN.

[1836, *Part I.*, pp. 583-585.]

A very interesting relic of the olden time has been recently brought to view in this city. The Romans occupied this place as one of their military stations, and built their city, the ancient Lindum, on the brow of the hill in the form of a parallelogram, dividing it into four equal parts by the intersection of two great streets at right angles. The four walls faced the cardinal points, and in the centre of each was a fortified gate or entrance. The north gate is a very remarkable structure, and is composed of twenty-six large stones put together without mortar and without a keystone. This arch is still entire, and a representation of it is given in Camden's "*Britannia*," by Gough (Vol. II., Pl. VII.), from a drawing by Mr. Buck. The south gate, which was similar to that just mentioned, was demolished about the commencement of the seventeenth century, and nothing now remains of it excepting the foundation-stones on each side the street. The east gate was taken down by Sir Cecil Wray about seventy years ago; but until within the last few weeks all traces of the west gate, which it was conjectured was destroyed when the Conqueror built the castle, have been lost, and the exact situation it occupied has long been a matter of doubt and inquiry amongst antiquaries. It was conjectured by some that the arch of the old Sally Port of the castle was the western gate of the Roman town; but Sir Henry Englefield seemed to discountenance that supposition, although he considered "the Normans and Saxons found that great arch built to their hands; and so, instead of destroying it, turned it into a postern when they dug out the ditch" ("*Archæologia*," Vol. VI. p. 379). That it was not the work of the Romans, and that it has

no claim even to a greater antiquity than the castle, has been since contended by various writers; and there certainly appears every reason to conclude it is of Norman origin: be that, however, as it may, it is now established beyond a doubt that it was not the entrance to the Roman Lindum, by the accidental discovery of the real western gate.

The ditch around the walls of the castle having been suffered to get into private hands, the greater part of it has been filled up for the purpose of being formed into building ground, and the picturesque appearance of the old castle has been nearly destroyed by the erection of a large number of small tenements and other buildings near to its walls. With a view of pursuing this barbarous practice, an individual of the name of Ball has been recently engaged in filling up the ditch at the north-west corner, near to the Sally Port, and has thrown down, to the great danger it is to be feared of the castle walls, a large portion of the earthen bulwark. This, however, has led to a most unexpected result—the discovery of the western gate of the old Roman city, which was found in the bank on Monday, the 11th of April last, where it has no doubt been hid for more than 700 years. It will be seen from the plate that the long-lost western gate was near to, and a little north of the Sally Port, and that it was buried in the earth when the fortifications were constructed by our Norman conquerors. This very interesting relic of the great Roman people was, however, no sooner found, than it was again lost for ever, as the square mass of masonry nearest the Sally Port gave way on the Friday after it was first discovered, and the fine old arch, constructed in all probability more than 1,500 years ago, fell to the ground. As the workmen had only partly excavated the arch at the time it fell, any account of its dimensions must necessarily be in some respects a matter of conjecture; it appeared, however, to have been very similar to the north gate, measuring about 15 feet in the clear, and being composed of about the same number of large ponderous stones 4 feet deep from front to back, 2 feet high, and from 12 to 18 inches broad. On each side the masonry was carried up above the crown of the arch for about 12 feet, and went, no doubt, originally much higher, forming two pillars or wings measuring 7 feet by 4; and between these the workmen represent there were the remains of three smaller arches forming as many openings 4 feet wide over the centre of the great gate. The masonry on the north side was forced over by the workmen, and as the earth in consequence gave way behind it, part of the square return wall of the gate was then disclosed to view. This showed another opening towards the north, of the same width and on the same level as those mentioned to have been observed in the front towards the west; and as there were the appearances around the inner parts of the wall, above the crown of the arch, of places where floor timbers had once been,

there can be no doubt the Romans had a square watch-tower over this gate, standing in advance of the walls of their town, which they used as a place of observation, the situation of it being such as to command a very extensive prospect, not only over the plain north of Lincoln, but also over a considerable extent of country to the west and south. The great Roman road called Ermine Street, intersected the Lindumcolonia, through the north and south gates, and it may still be traced running in a very magnificent manner through the entire length of the county from Stamford to the Humber. A few miles to the north of Lindum was another great military way, branching off at right angles from the Ermine Street, and passing in a westerly direction to the Trent; whilst on the south-west of the town was the Foss-way, stretching across to the sea-coast. The arch had in some degree lost its proper semicircular form, and had become a little flattened towards the north abutment, which had been thrown considerably out of the perpendicular, causing two of the large stones to separate more than 4 inches at the bottom. The traces of the Roman wall are very apparent in various parts around Lincoln, and as this great gate must have been double, the inner arch may be buried in the earth a little way within the area of the castle, as will appear probable on inspecting the plan in Camden's "*Britannia*," by Gough (Vol. II., Pl. VIII.), and drawing a straight line from the marks indicating the remains of the Roman wall on each side of the castle.

The crown of the recently discovered arch was about 19 feet below the castle walls, about 35 feet in advance of them, and the entire front occupied a space of 33 feet. The posterns, if there were any, have not yet been exposed to view; and it is not now probable any further excavations will be permitted, as the Vice-Chancellor has recently granted an injunction against Ball, restraining him from doing further damage to the castle walls by removing more earth from the western mound. In making the excavations, three Roman coins, and the iron head of an arrow, bent and blunted at the point, were found. Two of the coins are so much cankered and defaced that it is impossible to decipher them; but the other is a Galba in good preservation. On the obverse around the head of the Emperor is the inscription *IMP. SER. GALBA CAESAR AVG. P. M.* and on the reverse is the legend *DIVA AVGVSTA*, with the figure of Concord holding a chaplet in her right hand, and a *hasta pura* in the left. This may be considered rather a scarce coin, as the Emperor Galba reigned less than seven months, having succeeded Nero in the middle of the year of our Lord 63, and fallen a sacrifice to his avarice and severity at the very commencement of the year following, in which short period no very great number of medals could be coined.

FREDERICK BURTON.

Middlesex.—LONDON.

[1833, *Part I.*, pp. 65-66.]

Destruction of the remains of antiquity, and that not by the hand of Time alone, is continually going on, especially about those outskirts of the metropolis which are being improved by the aid of bricks and mortar. "The Brill" at St. Pancras, which, in Dr. Stukeley's time, preserved very distinctive marks of having been a Roman camp, is now little more than a mass of brick-clamps and unfinished houses. It has been dug up in every direction for brick-earth, so that the worthy doctor himself, with all his zeal, would, if he were to revisit the world, be quite at a loss to discover any trace of its ancient purpose. "Cæsar's Camp" at Islington, opposite Minerva Terrace, yet preserves some of its characteristics; but symptoms already begin to appear, which bode ill for their further existence. Another interesting relic in that neighbourhood, the old "White Conduit," which seemed to bid defiance to Time, in the field in front of the modern erection, which robbed it of its name (White Conduit House), has been unsparingly levelled by a Goth, in the shape of a bricklayer, whose own works will scarcely require so much labour to destroy! As to Hagbush Lane, which Mr. Hone has immortalized in his "Every-day Book," it has become "a bygone;" the proprietors of the adjoining fields having very ingeniously contrived, by rooting up the hedge, with its fine old elms, on one side, to destroy all traces of its existence, and make its "former self" part and parcel of the meadows which abutted on that (*i.e.*, the north) side. It is a pity some public-spirited individual cannot be found to make them disgorge their prey.

[1852, *Part II.*, pp. 295.]

The old well from which Holywell Street takes its name has lately been examined, and cleared of the rubbish with which it has long been filled. It is on the premises of a public-house in Holywell Street. The well is of great depth, and the walls are in good condition. The springs have not been reached, but they are in action in the neighbourhood, as the old Roman baths and the well in Strand Lane are still supplied from them.



Local Discoveries in Wales.



LOCAL DISCOVERIES IN WALES.

Anglesea.

LLANLINNA.

[1841, *Part I.*, p. 82.]

AS workmen were lately digging a new paint-pit at Llanlinna, near Amlwch, they discovered within 3 feet of the surface a stone urn or coffin, on opening which they found a human skeleton in a high state of preservation, measuring the extraordinary length of 7 feet 6 inches. The skeleton throughout was quite proportional to its length, and in very perfect condition. The urn appears to have been made from the Aberdovey limestone, and had the appearance of being much corroded by time. From the rude nature of this urn, it seems probable that the body had been first laid in the grave, and limestone placed round its sides and on the top only, which, from the length of time they had lain underground, had become cemented together.

LLANGFNI.

[1829, *Part II.*, p. 68.]

While some workmen were lately demolishing a boundary hedge between Glan Hwfa farm and Fron, in the parish of Llangefni, Anglesey, a great number of graves were found, composed of stones for sides and ends, and some covered over, containing human bones; there were about thirty entire graves, infants and adults, besides detached parts of others, with fragments of bones of more apparent antiquity.—A similar discovery was made on the farm of Chapel, in the parish of Llangristiolus, three miles distant, about sixty years ago.

Breconshire.

CRICKHOWRE.

[1786, *Part I.*, p. 473.]

The following inscription (Pl. 1, fig. 7) was lately discovered upon an antique stone lying under a hedge in a field, near Crickhowre in

the county of Brecon, and which is supposed to have been a monumental stone placed over some Roman officer of the name of Turpillius, which plainly appears. As the other characters seem to be more difficult to be understood, I beg the favour of an explanation from some of your learned correspondents. [See Note 30.]

Yours, etc. H. T. P. H. W.

GAER.

[1787, *Part II.*, pp. 1054-1055.]

Inclosed is a draught (Fig. 2) of an altar dug up at the Gaer in Breconshire. The preservation of its inscription is almost as miraculous as its vicissitudes are interesting. It was discovered towards the latter end of the last century by a Mr. Phillips, whose estate the Gaer then was ; but having been afterwards purchased by Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys, he caused it to be laid as a step to the door of the Priory of Brecon ; and it is probable the whole might have been irrecoverably lost, had not the ingenious Mr. Hugh Thomas, who made considerable collections for Wales, very fortunately rescued it from oblivion. The draught is among his papers in the British Museum, whence the above was sketched. I have not seen it anywhere else, therefore imagine an insertion of it in your useful repository may be a means by which some of your ingenious correspondents will form a judgment of this station. [See Note 31.]

As a hint, I must beg to remark that it could not be the Magna of the Romans, for that is evidently placed at Kenchester, in Herefordshire, the latter place retaining its names to this day, as Kenchester, Dinmaur, and Mawrdin, in its neighbourhood, as well as Magna Castra, all imply the same meaning in British, Saxon, and Roman, "the great camp."

Whatever Mr. Harris, in the "Archæologia," may have advanced concerning Magna being at the Gaer, I have only to offer as opinion that the excessive curve in the road from Gobannium, Abergavenny, by Brecknock, to Bravinium (situated either at Ludlow or Worcester), must have increased the distance to upwards of half the data of stadia. I believe the distance from Gobannium to Magna is about xxii m. p., to Bravinium xxvii., which it evidently is from Abergavenny through Kenchester to Brandon Camp, above Wigmore.

Now it is not improbable but that another road passed from Gobannium to Bulleum, which I take the Gaer to be. Built is by Camden assigned for this station. The Gaer is between Brecon and Built, and was anciently called *Caer Vong*, *i.e.*, the metropolitical city or encampment, which Bulleum (from *bol*, a bosom or belly) also will signify, allowing for Roman alterations. I am aware that some have carried this station to *Caer Phily*, in Glamorganshire ; but Lewis, in his "History of Britain," informs us that Julius Frontinus, upon his subduction of the Silures, built himself a regular fortifica-

tion, as a safeguard against their future inroads, which from him was called *Caer July*, and, by corruption, *Caer Phily*.

The town of *Caer Vong* was destroyed in the time of *Mairarch*, King of *Brechinia*, and out of its ruins *Bernard Newmarch* afterwards founded the castle and town of *Brecknock*.

I should have observed that in the first year of the Emperor *Valentinian*, *Tendor*, King of *Garthmarthen*, or *Brecknock*, assisted in an eruption against the Emperor, A.D. 365. This was the cause of great troubles in *Wales*, and may account for this altar being placed here, *Theodosius*, the Roman lieutenant, by his presence, having reduced his opposers to obedience more by craft than arms.

I hope some abler correspondent will favour your readers with a more ample discussion.

P. BRITANNICUS.

The length 4 feet 7 inches ; breadth, 2 feet 8 inches.

Caernarvonshire.

CAERHUN.

[1797, *Part II.*, pp. 296, 297.]

There is a spot within $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the town of *Conway*, in North *Wales*, on the great road leading from *London* to *Holyhead*, *viâ* *Shrewsbury*, called *Caerhûn*, which was, I believe, undoubtedly the *Conovium* of the Romans, and exhibits many curious traces of antiquity. The site of the camp may easily be traced, and consisted of a square fortification, strengthened by four parallel walls one without the other, extending to a considerable distance from the main work, and is situated on an eminence, with the river *Conway* in front, and a woody swamp on each flank. At the foot of the hill, near the river, are the remains of a bath, the walls and pavement of which are very entire, and out of which, at different times, many valuable relics have been taken. The present possessor of the place is occupied in clearing it still more, and has already discovered the pillars which supported the apartment, through the floor of which the heat ascended from below.

The tiles, mentioned in *Camden's "Britannia"* as having been found here, with the mark of the 10th, or *Antoninus's* legion, which is supposed to have been stationed at this place, have hitherto escaped his search ; and I am inclined to suspect that the learned tourist fell into an error with respect to these tiles, and that he either took the account of the place from some other person, or mistook for a figure of *ten* the common practice observed by the Romans of running the trowel over the clay before it was burnt, in this manner— $\times \times \times \times$, which is found in all the tiles of this bath, and which I have myself observed in some Roman brick found at *Bicester*, in *Oxfordshire*. He has also taken up a great variety of broken vases,

dishes, and other culinary utensils of earthenware, though none of them entire; some of them stamped with devices of men in armour, others with dogs in chase of the stag; some of a fine sky-blue colour, others red, which is the most prevailing; and one in particular, the most perfect of them all, is a sort of hollow dish or saucer, most beautifully glossed over its surface, and of a lively red colour, with the letters *PATRICI* very visibly stamped in the centre of it. Its diameter is about 6, and circumference about 18 inches. He has also dug out of the same place some of the *glainau naidredd*, or adders' eggs, and a quantity of greenish glass, or *vitrum*, both of which I conceive to be British antiquities; also, near the same spot, an old anvil and the head of a hammer, both very different from those now in use. But the greatest curiosity hitherto discovered by this gentleman is a brazen shield of a circular form, embossed most curiously, circle within circle (being seven in number), from the circumference to near the centre (with small brass studs), where a sharp piece of wrought iron is fixed, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and tapering gradually to a point at the extremity. The inside of this shield consists of leather stuffed with hair, both which are very entire. The circumference is about 38, and the diameter 13 inches. He has also in his possession a variety of Roman coins, found chiefly in the neighbourhood, some of which are very scarce and valuable. And he has it now in contemplation to trench all the ground within the site of the camp a yard deep, in order to open a way to farther discoveries; and he will be happy to receive instructions from some of your numerous antiquarian correspondents how to prosecute his researches in the most effectual manner.

Any communication relative to the name, etymology, or antiquities, of this place, will oblige

Yours, etc. AGRICOLA.

LLANDDINIOLEN.

[1795, *Part II.*, pp. 559-560.]

Plate II., fig. 3, is an inscription, not noticed either by Mr. Camden or Mr. Pennant, supposed to be Roman, lately discovered in the parish of Llanddiniolen, in the county of Caernarvon. The stone was found, and is still situated, about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of an old building called *Llys* (described by Mr. Pennant), in the remains of several square and circular booths, huts, or cottages, probably the summer encampment of a cohort or small company of Roman soldiers. Dinorwick, a fortified eminence, universally supposed to be the work of those adventurous people, is not above a mile off, and old Segontium not more than six. An explanation of the inscription from one of your learned correspondents is earnestly requested. [See Note 32.]

The stone is about 4 feet in length, 1 foot broad at top, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet at bottom; of coarse grit, such as are found in the neighbourhood. The letters are about two inches in length; those dotted are not very distinct. The two first, H L, are likewise rather obscure, and not so large as the rest.

PERIS.

Glamorganshire.—PORT TALBOT.

[1840, *Part I.*, p. 304.]

At Port Talbot, near Aberavon, Glamorganshire, a Roman inscription has been discovered, of which the following transcript has been communicated to the *Cambrian* by Mr. Talbot, the proprietor of Margam Abbey and Park:

IMP. C. FLAV. M. MAXIMINO
INVICTO AVGVS.

A difficulty is presented by the above reading, because it does not appear that Maximinus I., who assumed the imperial purple A.D. 235, or Maximinus II., who was raised to the same dignity A.D. 305, ever bore the prænomen of Flavius. A correspondent of the *Cambrian* paper suggests that there must have been an error in copying the stone, and that either Magnus Maximus, who was Emperor in Britain and Gaul A.D. 383, or his son Flavius Victor, whom he declared Cæsar, and who shared the imperial dignity with him, is the person intended. He imagines that the letter M. after Flav. may, on closer inspection, turn out to be a Vi. for Victor. [See Note 33.]

Glamorgan and Monmouthshire are peculiarly rich in relics of the Romano-British age, and the inscriptions on monumental and votive stones, which are scattered up and down in those counties, and throughout Wales in general, deserve to be collected before the silent unceasing operation of the rains of heaven has still further effaced them.

[1840, *Part II.*, pp. 296, 297.]

We have been very inattentive to the obliging communications of several correspondents, with regard to the Roman inscription upon a stone found at Port Talbot, near Aberavon, in Glamorganshire, about the month of January last, and noticed in our *March* magazine, p. 304; but we deferred their observations in the hope that we should be able to announce some definite interpretation as the result of their researches.

The session of the Society of Antiquaries has passed over without the inscription having been submitted to that learned body; but we shall now state the important parts of a discussion upon the subject which appeared in the columns of the *Cambrian* newspaper, and we are enabled to illustrate the same by representations of the stone, derived from drawings with which we have been favoured by C. R.

Mansel Talbot, Esq., of Margam Park, and by Mr. George G. Francis, of Swansea, the view of the principal side having been received from the former gentleman, and that of the reverse from the latter.

In the first place it is necessary to observe that there is certainly one, and probably two other letters besides those in the copy inserted in our March number. The whole are arranged as follows :

IMP C
FLAV M
CL MAXI
MINO
INVIC
TO AV
GVS

The letters CL were accidentally omitted when the inscription was first printed in the *Cambrian*, and from that imperfect copy ours was taken.

The stone was broken into five pieces when originally found, and is much weatherworn in parts. The letters at the end of the second and beginning of the third line are open to conjecture, and the letter next before Maximino has a fissure across it, which leaves a possibility of its having been a D, though it is not probable.

Mr. Talbot maintains that the Emperor commemorated was Flavius Magnus Clemens Maximinus, usually called Maximus, but not invariably; who is said by some to have been by birth a Briton, and the cousin and heir of Constantine the Great. His name appears with the various terminations of Maximius, Maximinus, and Maximianus. In Hardyng's Chronicle he is called—

Maximian,
King Traherne's sonne, a prince of Romanye.
To Constantine he was next heire—

and he married Helena, daughter of Eudda, Duke of Cornwall. According to the Welsh annals he founded the town of Caermarthen about A.D. 385.

Mr. George G. Francis contends that the names belonged to the Emperor Maximinus Daza, whose style, on his coins, was Imp. Galerius Valerius Maximinus Invictus Augustus. He would read the last letter of the first line as possibly a G, the second line FLAVA, and the third L MAXI, that is, FLA. for Flavius, and VAL. as Valerius. But Maximinus Daza had nothing to do with Britain his dominion having been confined to the East; and there is no record of his having used the prænomen Flavius; which was borne by all connected with the line of Constantine—derived, as is supposed, from their ancestor Claudius Gothicus. The epithet of Invictus is of too common occurrence to establish a difference. Mr. Talbot therefore adheres to his former interpretation, viz., "Imperatorī Cæsari Flavio Magno Clementi Maximino Invicto Augusto."

Horsley says, in his "Britannia Romana," that he could not find any Roman inscriptions in Britain under a later reign than Constantine the Great. This, therefore, if Mr. Talbot's appropriation be correct, is one of the latest Roman inscriptions ever found in this island. [See Note 33.]

It appears that the stone was used again for a monumental purpose, the following inscription being on its back: HIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVINVS (or PANINUS, the AV or AN being a compound letter). Its position was very extraordinary, as it lay nearly on the summit of a high sand-hill within 50 yards of the sea, at least 40 feet above the former surrounding district, the ancient level of which is plainly indicated by a burying yard, which was intersected by a deep cut formed in excavating the new harbour, and which contained a Druidical circle of stones, and many human bones. It would seem that the stone has been used for several purposes: first, as a monument of Roman dominion; secondly, as a gravestone to Cantusus; and thirdly, for some other purpose, probably that of a boundary stone to some property—a distinguishing mark, which, in that district of drifting sand, is not unfrequently required.

The line of the Julia strata, otherwise known as the *Via Julia Maritima*, was at least very near to the spot where this stone was found. A bronze spear-head, about 12 inches in length, was lately exposed by the washing of the river in a new channel near the same spot. In excavating a new harbour at Port Talbot, about two years ago, some curious discoveries were made—the remains of a building below the present high-water mark, several ancient pairs of shoes, a large brass coin of Commodus, and large horns of deer, resting on clay, covered with peat, and that again with drift sand. Impressions of the feet of deer, horses, and oxen, at considerable and various depths below the surface (down to 25 feet below high-water mark), occur over a large space of the surrounding tract.

Montgomeryshire.—MACHYNLLETH.

[1856, *Part II.*, p. 635.]

An old Roman copper shaft has been discovered a short distance from Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, and a small Roman pick and salmon-spear have been found in it. The pick is 9 inches from point to point, in form like the common pickaxe, and is in the possession of Mr. Weston, in the above town. A fine lode of copper was discovered in driving the level, and two strong lodes in the shaft. The shaft is 50 feet deep, driven through the solid rock.

Pembrokeshire.—FISGARD.

[1813, *Part II.*, pp. 17, 18.]

Travelling, in August last, from Newport, in Pembrokeshire, to Fisgard, about two miles before I arrived at the latter place, on

descending a hill, I accidentally observed, on the left-hand side of the road, an irregular stone lying loose among many others of the same kind, bearing an inscription, rudely cut, apparently Roman (see fig. 3). If your learned readers would oblige the world with their opinion, if it was a milestone, or for what other purpose it was designed, it would oblige. [See Note 34.]

Yours, etc. S. M.



Local Discoveries in Scotland.



LOCAL DISCOVERIES IN SCOTLAND.

BURGHEAD.

[1828, *Part II.*, p. 456.]

ON the shores of the Moray Firth, in the parish of Duffus, stands the small but neat and thriving fishing-station of Burghead. The town is of no very ancient standing ; but the promontory is said by antiquaries to have formed a station for the Romans when that wonderful people colonized our rugged strands. To the north is a perpendicular rock, which the Danes surrounded with a rampart of oaken logs, or stakes, portions of which have been frequently dug up, together with hatchets, and quantities of burned grain. In digging at the time of the erection of the harbour, the worthy proprietor informed us, his men found about thirty small figures of bulls cut in stone, that are supposed to have been trophies carved by the Romans, as we strike medals in commemoration of any signal victory. Another scrap of Roman antiquity was dug up by the workmen—a small brass coin, which an eminent antiquary, Sir T. Dick Lauder, said was one of the tokens in common use among the Roman soldiers to note their allowances of wine. But by far the most curious and antique object at Burghead is a large well, cut out of the solid rock, like a chamber, to the depth of about 20 feet, and 12 feet square. You descend to the spring by a flight of twenty-six steps, cut also out of the rock, which have been much worn by footsteps, supposed to be those of the Roman soldiers, and their successors, the Danes ; for it is plausibly conjectured that this gigantic well must have been the one used in days of yore by the soldiers of the garrison. Ten times the present population of Burghead, daily frequenting the spring, would scarcely perhaps in centuries have made such an impression on these steps of massive rock. The well was discovered about fifteen years ago, when some improvements on the pier were in progress. A want of water was severely felt by the labourers, and as they were one day lamenting their scarcity of this

cheap but invaluable element of nature, an old man suggested that they should dig in a certain spot, where, according to immemorial tradition, a well would be found. They resolved to try, and immediately commenced operations; but after excavating a depth of 10 or 12 feet on the side of the hill, they got tired of the project and desisted. The late Duke of Gordon, who was one of the proprietors of the harbour, and who happened at the time to be visiting, hearing the story of the well, told the men to dig away, and not to mind a day or two's labour. They accordingly set to again, and at length succeeded, at the depth of from 20 to 30 feet from the surface, in finding the long-hidden well, and verifying the truth of the old tradition.

BURNFOOT, CO. DUMFRIES.

[1832, *Part I.*, pp. 602, 603.]

The following inedited Roman inscription having been forwarded to my hands, perhaps you will think it sufficiently interesting for insertion in your pages. I have no opportunity of comparing the transcript with the original stone, and I therefore submit it to your readers just as I have received it. The asterisks placed on either side the first word denote the situation of two sculptured leaves of laurel on the stone.

The account which was received with the transcript is subjoined [Huebner, p. 188]:

* DEAE *
MINERVAE
COIL . II . TVN
GRORVM
MIL . EQ . C . L.
CVI . PRAEST . CSL
AVSPEX . PRAEF.

"The altar from which the above inscription was copied in February, 1831, is in perfect preservation, and stands in a garden at Burnfoot, near Ecclefechan, in Dumfriesshire. The remains of a Roman camp may still be perceived on the site of Burnswick, a hill about three miles north; and another has formerly occupied a sort of pass, more to the eastward. At the foot of the same hill, nearly in a line with the garden, where the altar now stands, and the camp on the hill-side, a Roman road has formerly run; and the ruins of a station are said to have been dug up, in the line between the two points, but the site of which the writer has not had the opportunity of visiting.

"On the top of Burnswick, the remains of a circular entrenchment, ascribed by local antiquaries to the Picts or the Danes, may be distinctly traced. Near Dumfries there is an artificial circular mound, with broad stair-like indentings circumscribing it at regular distances, which is said to be the work of the Danes; but the writer is of a

different opinion, it being more like the moat hill at Hawick, which claims a higher antiquity."

The fortification of which the memorandum above cited speaks was no doubt one of those British fortresses composed of receding terraces, for notices of which see Fosbroke's "Encyclopædia of Antiquities," p. 498, and the plate of the Herefordshire Beacon in the same work.

The above inscription may be deciphered thus :

DEÆ MINERVÆ
COHORS SECVNDA
TVNGRORVM MILITVM
EQVESTRIS CLARISSIMA
CVI PRÆEST C. S. L.*
AVSPEX PRÆFECTVS.

This præfect and augur (Auspex vel Aruspex), who commanded the equestrian cohort of the Tungrians, dedicated therefore the altar under consideration to Minerva. [See Note 35.]

The term *Cohors* seems to have been used by the Romans to denote a regiment of horse as well as of foot, although it has been said that *Turma* was strictly applied to the former. "Turma," however, implied, I believe, a troop or subdivision of the cohort of horse, as *Manipulus* a grand division of the cohort of infantry. There is the authority of Pliny to show that the term "Cohors" was applicable to a body of cavalry; we find it in one of his epistles to Trajan, used precisely in the same sense as I read it on the altar at Burnfoot :†

"Rogatus, domine, a P. Accio Aquilâ, centurione *cohortis sextæ equestris* ut mitterem tibi libellum."

In Camden's "Britannia" we find some inscriptions relating to the first cohort of these *Tungri*, who were natives of Tongris (Tongres), a very ancient city in the province of Leodica (Liege) in Germany, and were stationed at Bremecaturum, now Brampton,‡ a small market town, four or five miles south of the Picts' wall.

In an ancient vault at this place was discovered the imperfect inscription

. LEG. AVG. PP. COH. I. TVNG. POSVIT.

It appears, therefore, from the inscription at Burnfoot, that a band of the Tungrian cavalry was posted on the north or enemy's side of the Picts' wall, in advance of the Tungrian infantry at Bremecaturum, probably on exploratory service. The Roman and British earthworks described as extant at Burnsfoot, are most striking testimonies

* This character (L) in the transcript is half as high again as the rest, and has a small dash in the middle of the perpendicular stroke; it is probably monogrammatic, expressing LI.

† Plin. Epist., Lib. x., Epist. cvii.

‡ "Britannia," Gibson's edit., p. 835.

of that state of formidable hostility of the unsubdued Picts, which obliged the Romans to raise their wall, and kept their legionary soldiers in its neighbourhood constantly on the alert to maintain its limits.

Yours, etc. A. J. K.

GLASGOW.

[1827, *Part II.*, p. 259.]

While the workmen were engaged in digging out the site of the building erecting at Glasgow for the branch established there of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, they discovered what is likely to have been the remains of a Roman sepulture. At a depth of 9 feet, they found small portions of human bones, mixed with ashes, small pieces of charcoal, and the broken remains of earthen vessels. These were confined to a very narrow ridge or trench, which extended in length to about 12 or 14 feet, and stood from east to west. At the eastern extremity the remains were in a more perfect state, and may be accounted for by the rock, on which the whole rested, having been evidently cut, or hollowed out, to receive the sacred deposit which had been placed in it.

BRIGHTON BRIDGE.

[1841, *Part II.*, p. 303.]

The following appears to be the reading at full length of the inscription on the Roman altar, which was lately brought to light by the operations on the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, and of which a notice appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, p. 78. [See Note 36.] The original letters inscribed on the stone are distinguished by capitals; those supplied, by small letters:

HERCULI MAGNO (or MAGISTRO) Voto Suscepto Altare Nominat SACRUM VALERIUS NIGRINUS DUPLICARIUS ALAE TUNGRORUM.

Translation:—"Valerius Nigrinus, serving on double pay in the regiment of Tungrian cavalry, names, in fulfilment of a vow, this altar sacred to the great Hercules." [See Note 37.]

Brighton Bridge, the place near which this interesting remain was found, is situated in the parish of Polmont and county of Stirling, in the close vicinity of the Roman Wall and the chain of forts erected by Agricola. In the life of that general, by the historian Tacitus, there is a circumstance recorded, which may have led to the erection of the votive altar in question. He mentions in his account of the battle fought near the Grampians, the decisive attack on the part of the Roman army was commenced by two cohorts of the *Tungri*, who were ordered by Agricola, along with other German auxiliaries, to close hand to hand with the enemy. The altar may have been erected by Nigrinus, on his return to quarters, to commemorate a

fortunate deliverance in this very charge; and, if so, its date is referable to the earliest occupation of that part of Britain by the Romans, the battle having been fought A.D. 84. The moor of Ardoch, the most probable locality of the battle, lies about thirty miles north-west of Brighton Bridge.

E. D.

GLENALMOND.

[1834, *Part II.*, p. 418.]

As some men were lately digging in an enclosure, belonging to Mr. Moray of Abercairney, on the site of the Roman camp in Glenalmond, they came upon a very large pot which broke into pieces on being handled; within it were found two smaller vessels, in the form of goblets, with a long handle attached to each. Along with these were lying three spear-ends, three horse branks of a very strong make, two pairs of irons, a pair of hinges mounted with silver, and two parcels of buckles tied together.

MARK INCH AND LEETHAM.

[1830, *Part II.*, p. 448.]

A weapon was found some time ago at Mark Inch, in Fife-shire, a supposed Roman amphitheatre, and the following description is given of a similar curiosity, discovered at Leetham in the same county, the probable site of the decisive battle between Agricola and the Caledonians. It is of rich material, and beautifully ornamented, about 17 inches in length, and entire in every respect, except as to the covering of the handle and the point, both of which are gone. On various parts of the handle and guard, which are of brass, are raised figures, such as Jupiter holding the globe in his hand, Apollo with his bow and quiver, Neptune with his trident, Arion on the dolphin, Hercules with his club, etc. The form of the blade is triangular, and there are some beautiful figures inducted in gold upon the broadest side, along which is a groove, with a line of gold work in the centre.

MOFFAT.

[1787, *Part I.*, p. 540.]

A few days ago, as some workmen were digging peats on Errock stane-brae, in the vicinity of Moffat, near the Roman Causeway, one of them found something that resisted his spade; and upon examination it proved to be the half of a gorget, or breastplate, of a commander of the Roman army. The workmanship is exquisitely beautiful, and the characters are the same as those used at this day, if not more elegant. It is above an ounce weight, and appears to be one half of a ring, about three-quarters of an inch broad, and 3 inches wide, with a thin border on both sides about an inch in breadth, and

meeting outwards ; in the border are seen the following letters, the interstices being cut out, viz., IOVI AVG on one side, and VOT XX on the other, which probably imports that it was dedicated to the Roman Emperor Jovian by the Twentieth Legion. There stands out from one end of this fragment, perpendicular to the centre, a hollow piece about 2 inches long, and shut at the outer end. It has very likely made part of the ornaments on the top of a military standard.



Roman Roads and Stations.





ROMAN ROADS AND STATIONS.



THE STATIONS ON ITERS II., X., XI., AND XII. OF ANTONINUS;
AND WROXETER.

[1862, *Part I.*, p. 607-614.]

ARE the foundations of the Roman town at Wroxeter, which are now being examined, the remains of the Uriconium of Antoninus? The great Camden placed Uriconium at Wroxeter, and most antiquaries, past and present, entirely agree with him. I fear, therefore, that it will appear to be presumptuous to dispute the point with such an array of truly learned men; but recent discoveries of Roman remains must have great influence in such matters, and on the discovery in 1854 of a Roman villa near here (Dalton Parlours) I found the remarks I am about to make. After studying the Iters of Antoninus, it appears to me that the Roman town at Wroxeter is not Uriconium on Iter II., but Bravinium on Iter XII.

Antiquaries will, of course, at once see that it is totally impossible for me to make out my case unless I am able to show that the stations on Iter II. have hitherto been wrongly placed. I think by making my starting-point Eboracum (York), I shall be best enabled to make myself understood.

It is the opinion of almost all antiquaries that Iters II., V., and VIII., from Eboracum (York) to the southward, ran through Tadcaster, where Calcaria is now placed, over Bramham Moor, where the Roman road is still in a very perfect state, to Legiolium (Castleford); that Iter II. branched off in the direction of Manchester, and that the course of Iters V. and VIII. was by Danum (Doncaster), Segelosim (Littleborough), and Lindum (Lincoln), and so on to Londinium (London). That Iters V. and VIII. took that course I by no means doubt, but that Iter II. did so I am about to dispute.

It appears to me that the road from York, through Tadcaster, Castleford, Doncaster, Littleborough, and Lincoln, as marked on

Newton's map of the Roman roads of Yorkshire, was the London road, and that the Manchester road, *Iter II.*, branches from it about half-way between York and Tadcaster, near to the village of Bilborough, which bears a Roman name, and to some high ground called Ingridge Hill, and then proceeds to Newton-Kyme, crossing the river Wharfe at a place called Mill Flats. Mill Flats is Ing's land in Newton-Kyme, termed by Gibson, in his edition of Camden, "Newton Water-fields." Within a few hundred yards of this place, which has in it some very remarkable broken ground, is a long field, to this day called Langborough, which contains the outlines of an oblong camp, about 340 yards long and 210 broad; at the north end of which the pretorium, 24 yards square, is very distinctly marked. According to the learned author of "*Eburacum*," Wellbeloved, Roman York was about double this size. Langborough has been ploughed formerly, but not in the memory of anyone now living; but from the large quantities of stones piled in the fences, it seems that at some time large quantities have been turned up by the plough. Near to it, and about Newton-Kyme generally, Roman coins have at different times been found in—I may venture to say—hundreds. Fragments of Samian and other Roman pottery are also frequently found in and near Langborough. Its situation is within a few hundred yards of St. Helen's Ford, where an undoubted great Roman road crosses the Wharfe and goes northward to *Isurium* (Aldborough). Langborough, not standing on high ground, would no doubt require a place of look-out, and this want is well supplied by Dalton Parlours, near Collingham, where, in 1854, extensive Roman foundations, tessellated pavements, hypocausts, etc., were discovered. Dalton Parlours stands on high ground, about 270 feet above the sea-level, and the view from it is very extensive. It is the only place from which a distant view can be obtained of St. Helen's Ford. The situation of Dalton Parlours, which is about three miles to the westward of Langborough, when viewed from the camp, is very striking, and at once gives the idea that it was an outpost from which notice might be given to the camp in case of danger; and certainly no better situation could be desired for such a purpose. From the great beauty and extent of the tessellated pavements found in Dalton Parlours—part of which may be seen in the York Museum—and the size of the mansion, it appears that some distinguished Roman resided there; perhaps it was the rural residence of the Governor of *Calcaria*. From the large quantities of oyster-shells found amongst the ruins, it appears that luxury prevailed there, and that a good road passed near to it, else how could the oysters have been delivered fit for use at so great a distance from the south of England, where it is reasonable to suppose they were procured from?

Ingridge Hill, at Bilborough—which is near the place where I suppose that *Iter II.* branched from the York and Tadcaster road—when

observed from the camp, is very striking. It is about three miles to the eastward, and is as well adapted for an outpost as Dalton Parlours. I have heard that Roman remains have been found there, but cannot vouch for it. Gibson, in his edition of Camden, gives the following reasons for supposing Calcaria to have been at Newton-Kyme :

"Here (Tadcaster) Camden settles the Roman Calcaria, though Mr. Dodsworth places it at Newton-Kyme, in the Water-fields, near St. Helen's Ford; for many Roman coyns have been plow'd up there; particularly of Constantius, Helena, and Constantine; also an urn, or box of alabaster, with only ashes in it; melted lead; rings, one whereof had a key of the same piece joyned to it. Dr. Johnston agrees with him; and Mr. Henry Fairfax, a very learned antiquary, was of the same opinion; who among many other coyns dug up here, was possesst of one with this inscription, Domitianus Calcarauci, and on the reverse, he is on horseback, subscribed Cos vi. ; which he imagined might be coyned here by Julius Agricola, about the year Christ 85, when he was Proprætor in Britain. Add to this, that the inhabitants call them Langborough-pennies, which should seem to point out to us some large town or burrow. Nor is there anything Camden has said in favour of Tadcaster, but what is equally, if not more applicable to Newton-Kyme. The distance holds more exactly; the hill called Kelc-bar is at Smawe, which is nearer to Newton than Tadcaster. And as to Heina, who removed to Calceaster, 'tis possible enough there might in those early times be a religious house consecrated to the memory of the pious Helena, about St. Helen's Ford. At Calcaria also lived Adaman (who was afterward Abbot of Hue, or Huensis, and died Oct. 23, An. 704), of whose name there seem to be some remains, in that place at Newton-Kyme called Adaman Grove.

"The present name (which carries in it something of modern) ought not to be any prejudice to it. For since it is backed with such infallible proofs of antiquity, this conclusion is very natural, that it was called New-town, when new buildings began to be erected upon the foundations of the old town."

A field in Newton-Kyme is still known by the name of Adaman-Grove, or grave, and fragments of Samian and other Roman pottery have very recently been found in it and in fields adjoining it.

Near Newton Church stands a ruin which bears the appearance of great antiquity, and I understand that in digging near it foundations have been found. I never yet have been able to make out anything satisfactory as to its origin, but from its proximity to the church possibly it may be the remains of a religious house. Bede gives an account of a religious woman whom he calls Heina, who being the first that took the sacred habit of a nun upon her in those parts, retired, says he, to the city of Calcaria, where she built a house for

her dwelling. Perhaps this ruin is a fragment of Heina's house, and if so, it is part of one of the most ancient religious houses in England. The fact of Adaman having lived at Calcaria, and Adaman's Grove being at Newton-Kyme, tends strongly to show that Newton-Kyme was the place of his residence rather than Tadcaster. We may naturally expect to find remains of an early religious house in the neighbourhood of Adaman's residence, but no such remains were ever found at Tadcaster. It is worthy of remark that the ruins of the highly ancient monastery of Jarrow are adjacent to the present church there. Newton-Kyme appears to have been neglected by most of the great antiquaries,—at all events due attention has not been paid to it,—probably because they felt quite satisfied that Calcaria must have been where Tadcaster now stands.

In a commanding position on the eastern banks of the Wharfe, opposite to Newton Ings, at a place called Easedyke, are some very interesting earthworks, but whether Roman or not I am not prepared to say. Most of the places at Newton of which I have been speaking are, and have been for a great length of time, under grass; therefore there may be there remains of antiquity of great importance. Calcaria, we know, was a place of importance; therefore, wherever it stood, it is reasonable to expect to find remains of consequence. Camden's great reason for placing the Roman Calcaria at Tadcaster was because he found a trench quite round the town. Of course, within that trench it is reasonable to expect to find remains of the old town in considerable quantities. Yet it is not so; for, with the exception of a few scattered coins, I cannot make out that anything Roman was ever discovered there.

Tadcaster contains nearly 3,000 inhabitants; therefore, in digging the foundations of the houses of so considerable a place, had there been any antique remains of consequence, they must have been discovered. Part of the trench spoken of by Camden still remains, and recently some grass land just within it has been broken up, but not a vestige of anything Roman can be found, not even a fragment of pottery. The Castle Hill at Tadcaster is now, and has been for a great number of years, a garden; it is within the trench, and a very likely place for remains of antiquity, but nothing Roman can be found there. Close to Castle Hill, near the river, are some mounds, etc., in which bullets have been found, but nothing Roman. The situation of Tadcaster is not so favourable for a Roman station as that of Langborough; outposts could not be so favourably placed, and no such place as Dalton Parlours has been discovered in its neighbourhood.

Some have thought that Kelc-bar Hill was the place to look for the remains of Calcaria; the land on it, however, is all arable, and the Harrogate and Church Fenton Railway runs, in a deep cutting, quite through it, yet nothing of antiquity has been turned up there.

If Calcaria really stood on the site of the modern Tadcaster, how is it that it is omitted in Iter v., which ran northward, and the next station to Legiolium is Eboracum? Again Iter viii., running southward, and commencing at Eboracum, must have passed through Tadcaster, yet Calcaria is not mentioned; and it would be extraordinary that it should have been passed over on two occasions without notice. On Iter ii. only do we find Calcaria, and for the very good reason that this was the only Iter which passed through it. As before mentioned, it is my opinion that Iter ii. branched from Iters v. and viii. near Bilborough, and passed by Healaugh and Healaugh Manor over Wighill Ings, and across the Wharfe at Mill Flats into Newton Water-fields, where I believe the remains of the Roman Calcaria still to be. From Newton, the Iter passed through Tolston Ings, to the south of Boston Spa (close to it here were found, in an urn, in 1848, one hundred and seventy silver Roman coins, in digging a foundation*), to the north of Clifford, through Thorner to Leeds, there crossing the river Aire at Wall Flat, through Cleckheaton and Castleshaw to Manchester. Considering that so many centuries have elapsed since the Roman roads were made, and remembering that the land is now in such a high state of cultivation, it will be readily admitted that it is extremely difficult at this time to trace out any of them. Fragments are all that we can now expect to find. In my endeavour to make out my case, I rely more on itinerary distance and remains discovered than on fragments of the old road; although there are in this neighbourhood, in the line where I suppose Iter ii. to have run, some ridges and other appearances which are very similar to other undoubted remains of Roman roads. The great antiquary Drake, author of the "History of York," who wrote more than a hundred years ago, found great difficulty in tracing out the road from Isurium to Eboracum: undoubtedly there had been an important road between those well-established stations, but in his time it was almost, if not entirely, obliterated. If, therefore, in his time he found such difficulties, any one at this day making similar researches must expect to meet with much greater.

If a line be drawn on Newton's map from Newton-Kyme to Manchester, it will be found to pass over Leeds, Cleckheaton, and Castleshaw.

"On Wall Flat, Leeds, near Quarry Hill, the outline of a castrum was discovered many years ago, but every trace of it is now obliterated by the numerous buildings which have been erected on its site. In 1745, between Wall Flat and Briggate, a Roman urn was found, containing a British celt; and in digging a cellar behind the old Shambles which stood in Briggate, an ancient pavement, strongly

* Dr. Whitaker remarks that hoards of Roman coins are frequently found near to a road, about two miles from a station.

cemented, was discovered. A few years ago, when the new dock was made, a little below the old bridge, a Roman ford in the river Aire was found, composed of a substance known only to that people, wonderfully hard and compact, and calculated to resist the destructive action of water for a long series of ages. Further observations demonstrated that this ford crossed the river in a line with the north-east corner of the gigantic warehouse, erected in 1837, by the Aire and Calder Navigation Company, on the opposite side of the river, whence the Roman road is supposed to have passed northward by Call Lane, Quarry Hill, and Wall Flat; and southward, by the front of Salem Chapel and the Theatre, whence it took a south-westerly direction, passing near Beeston, Morley, and Gildersome; its line being still traceable in the vicinity of the two latter places.”*

Thoresby, the late learned antiquary of Leeds, writes:

“*Walflat*.—Upon the ascent of the hill are the vestiges of a very large camp; the trenches, considering its nearness to the town, and the interposition of so many ages, are very deep; but whether it is a Roman or Saxon camp I dare not positively assert, though from the single vallum and conveniency of the water (which the Romans always made sure of) at the foot of the hill, I suppose it to be the former.”

Pursuing the line further, we come to Cleckheaton, where Dr. Richardson, many years ago, discovered the site and remains of a Roman town, and finding itinerary distance to be favourable, I place Cambodunum there. No traces now remain at Cleckheaton of the Roman town.† Cambodunum has been for many years settled at Slack, but itinerary distance is altogether unfavourable, Slack being more than twelve miles over distance. Roman remains have been found at Slack, but the discovery of the Roman town at Cleckheaton, together with the favourable distance, must give the preference to Cleckheaton. The next station is Mamucium, which is, according to the *Iter*, eighteen miles from Cambodunum; and exactly at that distance we find Castleshaw, where Aluana is placed by some antiquaries: here I place Mamucium.

The next station is Condate, which, I think, stood on the present site of Manchester. Next we arrive at Deva, which I place at or near Frodsham, on the river Weever: the distance, twenty miles, suits; and Frodsham, standing on an eminence, is altogether suitable for a Roman town. There is also a great similarity in the sounds of the names of Weever and Deva, which is worthy of attention. Remains of antiquity have been found at Frodsham, but I cannot

* White's "Directory of Yorkshire."

† Very extensive remains of an ancient bloomery, consisting of partially smelted ironstone, intermixed with charcoal, are still to be seen in Okenshaw Wood, a mile or two from Cleckheaton. Whitaker imagines that forges for the manufacture of iron were erected in the vicinity of every station.

make out that anything Roman has yet been discovered there. Turning to the southward, and travelling ten miles, which is exactly the distance of the Iter, we come to Chester, where I place Bovium.

We now turn to the eastward, and travel twenty miles further, and this brings us to Kinderton, a village close to Middlewick, where I place Mediolanum.

From Iter II. it appears that Mediolanum is fifty miles from Condate, whilst Iter X. makes it only eighteen miles from it. It is, then, quite clear that Iter II., in passing from Condate to Mediolanum, must have made a great circuit and sudden turns, so as to make it possible for Mediolanum to be fifty miles from Condate in one Iter, and only eighteen in the other. By placing Condate at Manchester, and Mediolanum at Kinderton, this difficulty is got over, and itinerary distance found to be correct: also Iter X., termed by Professor Phillips, in his excellent work on Yorkshire, the most perplexing of all the Iters, is rendered intelligible and easy. Hitherto Mediolanum has been placed at Meivod, in Wales, and certainly, so long as it is held to be there, Iter X. will not be very tractable. At Kinderton are the remains of a Roman camp, and some antiquaries have placed Condate there.

I now turn to the southward, and place Ritunium at Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne. Here I am supported by distance, and the name of the place, which is decidedly Roman. I believe that Richard of Cirencester placed Mediolanum at Chesterton. At or near to Eccleshall, Staffordshire, according to my system, stood Uriconium. Remains of antiquity are to be found near Eccleshall, and a Roman military way is mentioned in Salmon's "Survey of England" as passing by Eccleshall, Newcastle-under-Lyne, and Newport. Salmon says that Newport and Portway are frequently found to mean a Roman way. Gibson says that in the vicinity of Eccleshall there was, or is, a high paved way. From Eccleshall, Iter II. passes through Newport, and joins the great road from London to Wales at Wellington, when it turns to Uxucona (Okenyate), and thence proceeds to London. Such is my system of placing the stations on Iter II. from York to Okenyate in Shropshire.

I now proceed to make a few remarks on Iter XII., which, as most antiquaries agree, comes northward from the Bristol Channel to Wroxeter Ford. Bravinium is placed at Rushbury in Salop, and Uriconium, the last station on the Iter, at Wroxeter; it is therefore the general opinion that, after passing Wroxeter Ford, Iter XII. joins Iter II. According to my system, Iter XII. does not join Iter II. till it arrives at Wellington. Agreeably to this, Bravinium is at Wroxeter, and Iter XII. joins the Shrewsbury road at the Horse Shoe, and proceeds eastward as far as Wellington, where it branches from the London and Shrewsbury road, and proceeds through Newport to

Eccleshall, where I place Uriconium, which is the termination of the Iter.

In the summer of 1859 I paid a visit to the excavations at Wroxeter, and after examining the Roman road which passes through the station, was more than ever convinced that my previously formed opinions respecting Wroxeter, and the roads connected with it, were reasonable. By placing the stations on Iter 11. as I propose, Iter x., hitherto so intractable, becomes quite manageable. For the sake of convenience, I will commence with Iter x., at the last station on it, and so proceed to the first. Mediolanum is therefore the station I commence with, which I place at Kinderton. Condate (Manchester) is the next: distance favourable. Mancunium, the next station, I place at Blackrode, where some one has previously placed a station, but not Mancunium: distance favourable. The next three stations, Coccium, Bremetonacim, and Galacum, have been previously placed at Ribchester, Overborough, and Ambleside, in which I entirely concur. Alone I am inclined to place at Papcastle, but in this case distance is not favourable. At Papcastle is a Roman castrum, where numerous Roman remains have been discovered. Galava I place at Ellenborough, where a profusion of Roman remains has been found. From Ellenborough, along the coast, runs a Roman road to Bowness, in Cumberland, and the distance being very favourable, I place Clunoventa there, which completes Iter x.

I may here remark that Mancunium, on Iter x., has been fixed by almost all antiquaries at Manchester, and, so far as I can make out, merely on account of a similarity in the names.

Mamucium, on Iter 11., has also been thought to be the same station as Mancunium, but for what reason I could never make out. It appears to me that so long as these two stations are considered to be the same, and placed at Manchester, so long will the stations on Iters 11. and x. remain in inextricable confusion. Itinerary distance on Iter 11. will by no means allow Mamucium to be placed at Manchester; and as to Mancunium, it is quite out of the question.

In placing Condate at Manchester, the high antiquity of the City is by no means lessened, but the importance of the place is heightened, as the learned Burton (I think it was) thought Condate was a Roman colony, and consequently of more importance than an ordinary station. The several Roman roads which branch from it prove its importance in Roman times; and as to the name, it is probably from Mancunium, the next station to the northward. No modern name of a place retains so much of the Roman name as Catterick (Cataractonem); yet from remains, etc., there is great reason to believe that the station of Cataractonem was not exactly at Catterick, but at Thornborough, a township close by. Undoubtedly, Catterick took its name from the Roman, although there is reason to

suppose that the station was not exactly there ; and may it not be the same with Manchester ?

The chief difficulty in this scheme is the displacing of Deva from Chester.

Iter 11. informs us that the 20th legion was stationed at Deva ; and at Chester, in 1663, an altar was found, and the inscription on it mentions the 20th legion, which seems greatly to confirm the other reasons for placing Deva at Chester. Distance is, however, most decidedly opposed to the claims of Chester, and by placing Deva there, the stations on Iter 11. cannot be reconciled to itinerary distance.

I will now proceed to make some remarks on Iter 11. The stations on this Iter, Segontio, Conovio, Varis, and Deva, are now, I believe, placed at Carnarvon, Caerhen, Bodvari, and Chester. Distance is, however, most decidedly opposed. The distance from Chester to Bodvari is about twenty miles, and the distance from Deva to Varis, according to the Iter, is thirty-two miles ; distance, therefore, being so unfavourable, and thinking that Frodsham now occupies the site of the Roman Deva, it appears to me that Iter 11. took a northerly direction. From Frodsham, where I place Deva, I proceed northward across Warrington Ford, where Roman remains have been found, and place Varis at or near Preston : distance suits. Nineteen miles further we arrive at Lancaster—remains found, and name decidedly Roman—where I place Conovio ; and twenty-four miles further we find Sedburgh, where there is a Roman camp, and there I fix Segontio : which completes Iter 11.

The name of Sedburgh is more Roman, and is more like in sound to Segontio, than Carnarvon. It may be objected that I make Iters x. and 11. run too close to each other in some parts of their course, but I think that there is good reason to suppose that sometimes the Romans had roads running near to each other, and in parallel lines. The great Roman road, which from the southward passes through Lincoln, and branches off to Littleborough, undoubtedly runs up to the Humber, and between this road and the sea, near to it, and in a parallel line with it, runs another ancient road—along which Roman remains have been found—through Horncastle and Caistor, towards the Humber.

In placing the stations as I have done, I have kept steadily in view the itinerary distance, believing the distances given in the Iters of Antoninus on the whole to be correct, although some errors have in all probability crept in from numerous transcriptions. When we take into consideration that this country was merely a Roman colony, it is not probable that the measurements would be so correct as they would be in the mother-country ; therefore we may expect frequently to find the remains of the stations, some one, two, or perhaps three miles

under or over itinerary distance ; but some antiquaries have placed stations twelve and fifteen miles out of distance, which appears to me quite unreasonable.

In conclusion, I will make a few remarks on the Roman roads in this neighbourhood. From our proximity to the Roman northern capital, Eboracum, and to the British capital, Isu-Brigantum (Aldborough), it is reasonable to expect that a variety of Roman roads will be found in our vicinity. A mile and a half to the eastward of the village is St. Helen's Ford, where the grand Roman road of England crosses the river Wharfe and proceeds direct to Isu-Brigantum. This road at St. Helen's Ford I believe to be the most important, the greatest Roman road of England—indeed, the whole of the great roads, Ermine Street, the Foss, Icknild Street, and Watling Street, united. A fragment of the great road on Bramham Moor is now as perfect as it was when the Roman legions passed along it. Leland writes, that in all his travels he never saw so noble and perfect a Roman road as this ; “which shows,” adds he, “that there went more than ordinary care and labour in the making of it.”

At the western entrance-gate to Hazlewood Castle it turns to the north-east, and for some distance its course is the same with the present high road to York ; it then leaves the high road, and goes direct to the vast and ancient stone-quarry near Sutton, called Jackdaw Crag, and sometimes Thievesdale. This vast stone-quarry, in all probability the principal Roman one (there are several others near it, but none so extensive as this), is a very interesting and beautiful place ; the mounds of various sizes, made by the working of the quarry, the rocks, etc., give it quite the appearance of a mountainous country in miniature. In 1854, when a portion of the Roman road which passed close to this quarry was broken up, a small bronze Roman god—probably a Lares Compitales, which presided over cross-roads—was found. It was quite perfect, and is now in the collection of the Earl of Londesborough. The subjoined sketch gives a full-sized view of this relic. From the quarry the road takes a very sudden turn to the northward, resuming its original course and passing through the fields close to the eastward of Tolston Lodge, strikes into Rudgate near to a large stone-quarry called Robshaw Hole, and thence to St. Helen's Ford. A branch of the great road passes from Jackdaw Crag through Tadcaster to Eboracum, and thence to Isu-Brigantum, where, after making this angle, it joins the great north road.

About three miles to the westward of this place (Thorp Arch), at Wolhersome, near Brainham, is another Roman road, from Olicana (Ilkety), which, according to my system, joins Iter ii. close to Hope Hall. On this road is the station Pampocalia. It has only recently been broken up, and it is somewhat odd that it was not noticed by Drake and other great antiquaries who travelled in the neigh-

bourhood. It was a high raised road, and contained an enormous quantity of stone, which has been used for mending the adjacent roads. It is to be found on Newton's map, and is generally supposed to have passed through Bramham and along the high road from Brainham to Tolston Lodge, near which it joins the great north road to Isu-Brigantum.

I am, etc. FRANCIS R. CARROLL.

THE FIFTH ITER OF ANTONINUS.

[1795, *Part I.*, pp. 363-365.]

Whoever attentively examines the fifth Iter of Antoninus, as recited in his Itinerary or laid down in a map of Roman Britain, will find that it proceeded from Colchester, and some station near London, to Carlisle, in the following direction :

Cæsaromago, Chelmsford, or Writtle ; *Colonia*, Colchester ; *Villa Faustini*, St. Edmondsbury ; *Icianos*, Ickburgh ; *Camborico*, Chesterford ; *Duroliponte*, Godmanchester, or Cambridge ; *Durobrivæ*, Dornford, or Castor ; *Causennis*, Nottingham, Briggcasterton, or Ancaster ; *Lindo*, Lincoln ; *Segeloci*, Littleburgh ; *Dano*, Doncaster ; *Eboraci*, York, etc.

The modern names generally assigned by Camden, Gibson, Gale, Horsley, and others, are here adopted, as it is not meant in this short letter to controvert them, but merely to show that the track of the Roman road, supposed the Herming Street, was somewhat in the direction. There is no Iter to Chester from the south-east part of the kingdom ; but the Iters on which Ratis or Leicester occurs most probably had a communication with Dorobrivæ or Castor by a vicinal way, which would pass through or near the site of Medbourn, described by your intelligent correspondent, Mr. Tailby, p. 274. [Ante pp. 170, 171.] If he resides at or near this spot, and has opportunity of examining it more minutely, he may perhaps trace out some vestiges of earthworks, or a road, pointing to Castor. A line drawn from Medbourn to Leicester, in Cary's Map of Leicestershire, in the new edition of the "Britannia," would pass through two villages of the name of *Stretton*, which carry with them an evident Roman etymology ; and the distance from Medbourn to Leicester, by the scale of the same map, does not exceed sixteen miles. Having crossed the Welland to the south-west of Rockingham, we may suppose the road continued by Weldon and Cotterstock, at both which places Roman pavements have been found, to Chesterton, Alwalton, Castor, and Water Newton, at all which places are undoubted traces of the Romans in earthworks, coins, etc., etc.

It will easily be perceived that these are conjectures formed among books ; but as it is highly probable they might be confirmed by actual inspection of the country, it is hoped your correspondent, and the indefatigable historian of Leicestershire, will concur in

reducing this hypothesis to reality by accurate exploring, and give the result of their researches in the History of Gartre Hundred.

D. H.

Seeing in your last, p. 274, a letter from a Mr. Tailby, who appears desirous of being more particularly informed about the Roman road which he "supposes" might have existed between Colchester and Chester, I readily sit down to communicate to him not only the information I received from the late Dr. Mason, but also such observations as I have occasionally made on seeing the greater part of it myself.

This road began, as Mr. Tailby rightly imagines, at Camalodunum (the first Roman colony settled in Britain), and extended, nearly in a direct line, thence cross the kingdom to Deva (or Chester), the well-known station of the 20th legion for many centuries. And though only *one* of each of the Itineraries of either Antonine or Richard of Cirencester has taken notice of but a very small part of it (probably, as the acute and learned Bergier imagines, from the greater part of it having been only a raised causeway, and not regularly *paved*), yet the general course of this road is so evident, the remains of it to this hour so plain, and the stations so well known, that it is impossible for any person who would give himself the trouble of examining it at his leisure to entertain the least doubt of its existence.

From Camalodunum, or Colchester, this road proceeds, "obscurely, to be sure, from the high state of cultivation in which that part of Essex has been for so many years," by Colne, Sible Hedingham (where I once saw some remains of it), Yeldham, Ridgewell, and Haverhall, to Horseheath; whence it runs, quite visible, and still very high raised, over the open country, and, crossing the Ikenield Street, continues straight to Gogmagog Hills, where, throwing off a branch by Grantchester to Sandy (Salinæ), it descends into the valley to Camboricum, or Cambridge, a station placed on the north side of the Cam, and covering nearly all the ground from the river to the turnpike-road going to Huntingdon.

From Cambridge it proceeds, nearly in the course of the present turnpike-road, through Fen Stanton, to the next station, Durolipons, or Godmanchester, where it joined the Ermine Street, and, crossing the Ouse near the gallows at Huntingdon, is still straight and tolerably plain for two or three miles, keeping under the hillside towards Alconbury. It is *then said* to pass through Alconbury, Weston, Hamerton, Winwick, Thurning, Barnwell, and by Lilford Bridge to Weldon (but of this part of it *I* am not certain, though a road is seen near Weldon straight and broad, and though the town itself is known to be Roman from the number of antiquities found there, *as the course appears to me a little too much to the east*).

I need not stop here to inform any of your readers, Mr. Urban, that along the banks of this river, the Nen (which separated the Icenī Cenimagni from the Icenī Coritani), still remain many of the fortifications thrown up by Ostorius when he formed the great plan of separating the two great and powerful clans of the Icenī; but shall continue to trace the remainder of my road towards Chester.

At Cottingham, on the borders of the forest, our road appears again quite plain, near a tumulus, before it descends again into the plain, and crosses the Welland in its way to Leicester.

At Medburn was an undoubted station on this road; and the name of *In Medio* was probably given it from its being almost exactly placed at an equal distance from the two *termini* of this Iter, Colchester and Chester; and thence the road is still high raised and very visible, running past Gartre Bush, Norton Hedges, and the Strettons, all the way to the capital of the Icenī Coritani, Ratae, or Leicester.

At Leicester our road crossed the Foss, and, proceeding through the northern gate, and leaving Anstey's Lane to the right, goes straight forward to Groby (where Lord Stamford's house stands on it), and then goes by Markfield to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and, passing the Trent near Burton, crosses the Rykenield Street, and, ascending the forest in a direction for Hanbury, is continued by Checkley Upper Tone, Draycot-in-the-Moor, and very visibly through Meer, Lane Delph, near Stoke and Woolstanton, to the next station of Mediolanum, or Chesterton.

From Chesterton, Dr. Mason said, it went towards Nantwich by a road "called the Watling Street," and so to Bunbury, Beeston, and Deva, or Chester; but of this I am uncertain. There is another undoubted road from Chesterton, through Red Street and Street-ford, to Condate, or Kenderton, mentioned in the tenth Iters of Antonine and Richard; and from Kinderton another, equally certain, by Home Street Hall to Deva.

Yours, etc. AGRICOLA.

THE SEVENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS.

[1841, *Part I.*, pp. 257, 258.]

Allow me to submit to you the following commentary on the Seventh Journey of the Itinerary of Antoninus. The course of this Iter has never been satisfactorily explained, although but few stations are named in it, and our best antiquaries have laboured to trace them out. The subject is one which has long engaged my attention, and I have come to a conclusion that I have discovered the course of the Iter in question. It appears in Gibson's edition of Camden thus:

ITER VII.

Editio Suritana.

Iter à Regno Londinium, m. p. xcvi. sic. *Edit. Aldina.* cxv. *Edit. Simleriana,* cxvi. 96.

Clausentum, m. p. xx.

Ventam Belgarum, m. p. x.

Calleva Atrebatum, m. p. xxii.

Edit. Aldina, Gelleu. *Edit. Simleriana,* Gall.

Pontes, m. p. xxii.

Londinium, m. p. xxii.

This is a circuitous route from Chichester (Regnum), *viâ* Winchester (Venta Belgarum), to London, and, in my opinion, proceeded through the places which are now known as Southampton (or near to it), Winchester, Odiham, Reading, and Walton-upon-Thames.

I believe no doubt now exists of Chichester being the Regnum of Antoninus.

Clausentum, it is universally agreed, is in the neighbourhood of Southampton.

The sight of Calleva has been a much more disputed point, but I feel convinced that it must be placed at Reading. The name Calleva is, in all probability, some Latinized British word, which perhaps was Ceubal, a ferry, or ferry-boat. As I suppose, from Calleva appearing so frequently in the Itinerary, it was the place where the Thames was generally passed in the British and Roman times, and consequently was a point of some importance. I am confirmed in this by my opinion of the etymology of the present name, for I conclude that Reading is derived from the British Rhyd, a ford or passage of a river. I also believe that the name Calleva is still retained in Caversham, on the opposite side of the Thames.

There is scarcely any station in the Itinerary that has puzzled our antiquaries more than Pontes. I will not here state the places at which they have fixed it, but proceed at once to give my reasons for placing it at Walton-upon-Thames. This Iter, having proceeded to Calleva (Reading), did not pass the Thames, but, as I suppose, went on to some place on that river where there was a bridge over it, and which place was, it seems to me, at Walton; for I believe the large stakes there mentioned by Bede (some of which remained until recently) were not those with which the Britons opposed Cæsar's passage (although I believe he passed the river there), but were the remains of a bridge which the Romans subsequently erected here. Perhaps Pontem was originally expressed in this Iter, and not Pontes. The tradition of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood is that a bridge existed here in early times.

After crossing the river here, the Iter then, in my opinion, pro-

ceeded, on the Middlesex or north side of the river, to Londinium (the *City* of London).

It is evident that there are errors in the numbers or distances given in this journey by the Itinerary, and I cannot help believing that one or two stations are (as we now find it written) left out of it. Under this impression I am inclined to believe that it originally stood, or nearly so, as follows (premising that in three editions mentioned above of the Itinerary the total number of miles is variously given as 96, 115, and 116):

Claesentum, m. p. xxx.
 Ventam Belgarum, m. p. xv.
 Vindonum (or Vindomis), m. p. xxi.
 Calleva Atrebatum, m. p. xv.
 Pontes, m. p. xxii.
 Londinium, m. p. xxii.

which I modernise thus :

	Miles.
Bittern, near Southampton . . .	30
Winchester . . .	15
Odiham . . .	21
Reading . . .	15
Walton . . .	22
London . . .	22

This makes a total of 125 miles, and although that exceeds the numbers given by the Aldina and Simleriana editions, the one by ten and the other by nine miles, we may conclude that the Suritana edition is very incorrect. The inaccuracy of this Iter is clearly proved by the distance between the two known stations of Clausentum and Venta being stated as only ten miles, whereas they are about fifteen Roman miles apart. The distances between Reading and Walton, and between the latter and London, certainly are not equal ; but if it be conceded that the road from Walton (Pontes) at that period lay on the north side of the Thames, the angle which it was necessary to describe on account of the course of that river would go far, if not entirely, to make up the deficiency in distance.

I have placed Vindomis, or Vindonum, at Odiham, principally on account of the modern name seeming to retain something of the ancient one ; but there are other reasons which induce me to entertain this opinion, although it has, with some degree of probability, been placed at Basingstoke.

I shall here leave this subject for the present, without entering more minutely into it, being somewhat anxious to see what objections are raised to the opinions I have ventured on the course of the Iter in question and the stations upon it, and to induce those more on the spot to devote their attention to it.

Yours, etc. J. P.

THE NINTH ITER OF ANTONINUS.

[1841, *Part I*, pp. 484-486.]

A correspondent in the last number of your magazine, p. 257, having called the attention of your readers to the seventh Iter of Antoninus, I am induced to send you a few notes on another journey of the same Itinerary, I mean the Ninth. As a great diversity of opinions have been given respecting the positions of the stations mentioned in this Iter, I have thought that any hints, however slight, tending to throw light upon this point, may be useful. I have therefore sent you the following observations, not with the expectation of being able to set at rest the matters in question, but of inducing others better qualified than myself to make it the subject of their consideration.

The Iter is as follows, as much of it at least as it is my intention to observe upon :

ITER IX.

A Venta Icenorum Londinium, m. p. cxxviii.

A Venta Icenorum

Sitomago, m. p. xxxj.

Combretono, m. p. xxij.

Ad Ansam, m. p. xv.

Cameloduno, m. p. vj.

Gale, Horsley, Reynolds, Camden, and Blomefield, in their explanations of this Iter, have all of them, upon leaving Venta Icenorum, the present Caistor, near Norwich, taken a direction towards the west. The late Mr. Woodward of Norwich, in his account of Roman remains in Norfolk (*"Archæologia,"* vol. xxiii.), if not the first who commenced the Iter in the opposite direction, has been the person who has more particularly insisted upon this line of the road. Instead, therefore, of fixing the site of Sitomagus at Woolpitt, as Gale and Horsley have done, or at Stowmarket, as Reynolds supposes, or at Thetford, as Camden and Blomefield think, Mr. Woodward places the first station from Venta Icenorum at Dunwich. That he was most probably right in his conjecture will, I think, appear upon a due consideration of the line between these two points. The distance from Caistor to Norwich, in a direct line, is about thirty-two miles, which agrees within one mile of the distance given in the Iter. The road probably crossed Bungay Common, and passed through the town : at the distance of two miles from Bungay, at St. John's, commences a straight piece of road, between five and six miles in length, called Stone Street, a name which clearly points it out as having been a part of the Iter, for Bede uses the word *strata* to signify a Roman road ; it then passed on through Blyford or Blythburgh to Dunwich.

The next station, Combretonum, is fixed by Camden and Dr. Gale at Bretenham, led probably by the similarity of the names; but Horsley thought Stratford-on-the-Stour suited the distance better. Woodward, however, thinks it to be near Woodbridge. I have no doubt it should be placed at Burgh, about four miles to the north-west of that town, and twenty-one from Dunwich. Here are the remains of a large square or rectangular encampment, a great part of which is still perfect, and much broken pottery has been found in the parish, and in the adjoining one of Grundisburgh; either of these places will answer as to distance, and the name of each bears unquestionable proof of a Roman station of some kind having at some period been fixed in each of them. As a corroboration of this line it may be added, that at the distance of about three miles from Dunwich, in the direction of Burgh, the road would cross, at Middleton, the little stream called the Minsmere, over which, at that spot, there now stands a foot-bridge, commonly called Rackford Bridge, but properly Rackway Bridge; probably a corruption of Trackway bridge; and that about midway between the two stations the road passes through the parish of Stratford (St. Andrew's); the name of which we may fairly infer took its rise from there having been a *ford* over the little brook which runs through the parish, for the *Strata*, or Roman road.

The next station is Ad Ansam. In Richard of Cirencester's "Description of Britain," edition 1809, p. 122, this is called "Ad Sturium Amnem," vol. i., with this note added, "l'inibus Trinobantium Cenimannos Advenis." Harrison (see Gale in his edition of the "Itinerary of Antonine," p. 111) informs us that the Stour, which divides Suffolk from Essex, was formerly called *Ensa*; if this be certainly the fact, the derivation of the name of the station is evident, and will help us in fixing its locality. This station is placed by Horsley at Witham, and by Reynolds at Tolleshunt Knights, both in Essex; these neither of them can be made to agree in distance; and Mr. Woodward is, I think, correct in fixing it at Stratford (St. Mary), on the left bank of the Stour; the distance between this place and Burgh is between fifteen and sixteen miles, the exact space in the "Itinerary." The name also points it out as a ford for a Roman road.

From Ad Ansam to Camelodunum, the Iter makes the distance six miles, and that is the exact space which intervenes between Stratford and Colchester. This last place, therefore, must be considered as the Camelodunum of Antonine. Both Horsley and Reynolds, however, suppose it to have been at Maldon; but this place is much too far out of the way; and Gale points out Walden, though he does not deny that Colchester was a Roman station.

I have only to add that in the line thus pointed out, the distances precisely coincide with those in the Iter; whereas all former com-

mentators have been obliged to suppose errors in the numbers of the Itinerary, in order to make their distances agree.

It is true that few Roman remains have been found on this line of road, except at Burgh. That traces of the Romans should now occur at Dunwich, supposing it to have been the Sitomagus of the Iter; could not be expected, because we know that the greatest part of that city has long ago been destroyed by the sea, though Kirby thinks, "from the finding Roman coins here, it may reasonably be thought to have been a Roman station;" and, as to the road itself, in a country so highly cultivated as Norfolk and Suffolk are, and long have been, the plough may fairly be supposed to have, ages ago, obliterated all marks of it. These, therefore, are not very strong objections to the line suggested, and I cannot help thinking that there are good reasons for supposing it more correct than former ones.

Yours, etc. D. A. Y.

[1841, *Part II.*, p. 24.]

Allow me to make one observation on the hypothesis of your correspondent, D. A. Y., with respect to the Ninth Iter of Antoninus. I am not satisfied that either he or the late Mr. Woodward have established the position of Sitomagus at Dunwich. The conjecture rests mainly, if not entirely, on the agreement in distance, and the direction of Stone Street. Now I cannot think the mere existence of a Roman road (for there can be little doubt that the Stone Street was a Roman road) tending in that direction to be sufficient evidence to identify it with this Iter, in the absence of any vestige of a way between Caistor and Bungay, a distance of ten or eleven miles in a direct line; and it is to be observed that in all probability the valley of the Waveney was, in the Roman period, an æstuary of the sea extending beyond Bungay, and not likely to be fordable there. It is certain that the line of road passing from Caistor through Tasburgh, Stratton (*via strata*), and Dickleburgh, towards Scole, was a Roman way. The river was fordable both at Shotford (Scotoford), and Billingford, near both which places Roman pottery has been found.

Yours, etc. A GLEANER.

TRACES OF A ROMAN MILITARY WAY THROUGH SUSSEX, SURREY, AND KENT.

[1781, *pp.* 306, 307.]

About two years ago information was given me that an old straight-paved road had been discovered on St. John's Common, and in the enclosed lands adjoining, in the parishes of Kymere and Clayton, in the county of Sussex; and that the commissioners of the turnpike road, from London through Cuckfield to Brighthelmstone, were digging up the materials of the old road to repair the new.

From the account given me, I was led to think it might be part of a Roman military way, and curiosity prompted me at that time, and often since, to examine its make and direction; by which I am satisfied of the certainty of my conjecture, and that it points in a direct line near to the mouth of the River Adur.

What remains are to be found on the Downs I have not had opportunity to examine, but am certain it must lead down the hill at Clayton Borstal, near where the present road does, and from thence through enclosed ground to St. John's Common above-mentioned, leaving the present road at a little distance on the left. The lands being chiefly meadow and pasture, few remains are to be seen, as the road is not raised above the level of the ground, and the soil being clay or loam, the flints with which it was formed are sunk below the surface, as may be seen on a farm belonging to the Rev. Mr. Morris, of Clayton, where the tenant is opening his fields for the flints, which lie near a foot under the surface, in a bed 18 or 20 feet wide, and about 8 inches thick; which when taken up, the earth and sod is carefully laid down again; and the same method has been used near the whole length of the common, in a straight north-east direction: on leaving which, it continues its course into Frith Farm, and through a coppice crosses Walebridge Millstream about a furlong below the mill, as may plainly be seen by the flints at the brink of the stream. From this place the same materials turned up by the plough are to be seen in the tilled fields of Holmbush Farm, and the house stands near to, if not upon it; from whence the direct line points through woods and fields to a little east of Butler's Green, the seat of Francis Warden, Esq., where it crosses the turnpike road from Lewes to Horsham, and through the pleasure grounds of Mr. Warden, and enclosed land of others, right upon Ardingley Church, and Wakehurst Place, the seat of Joseph Peyton, Esq., near to which it must enter, and keep near the course of the road from London; through Lindfield to Brighthelmston, as far as Celsfield Common; an elevated spot of ground in the parish of West Hothly, commanding extensive views of the Downs, and Weald, of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and on which, near the centre, is a large raised hillock of earth; but whether a barrow, or made for the erecting a beacon on, I am not able to determine, as the situation is so convenient for that purpose. If a direct line, as before described, were still pursued, it would carry us through enclosed ground, and enter Surrey near New Chapel, and point to the Roman camps at Botley Hill in Surrey, and Holwood near Bromley in Kent.

As few remains of flint, the materials with which the road was formed, are to be found after leaving Holmbush Farm, it is not so easy to be traced; but it is not to be expected that flints should be brought from the Downs, when the Weald would produce stone and gravel, which, if not so durable, would answer the purpose of

forming it; nor are we certain it continued a straight course, as a turn might be made, and carry it by Gatton, Woodcote, and Streatham to London; but I should be glad to see it determined by such as have taste and opportunity to examine those parts of Surrey and Kent.

The discovery of this Roman military way confirms the opinions of Camden, Stillingfleet, and other antiquaries, who fix the *Portus Adurni* at Aldrington, near Shoreham, which, for want of such a way being known, Salmon is inclined to find at Old Romney, in Kent.

As the road had been opened a considerable distance, and the flints separated from the earth and clay, I suggested to myself that some antiquities might have been found, and the last spring made inquiries among the workmen; but could hear of nothing but some broken earthenware, and two coins, one of which they had broken in pieces; and the other, which is of the larger brass, I got into my possession; but the inscription is so much eaten with rust, that no part of it is legible except *ANTONINVS*, which I think is distinguishable before the head, and therefore believe it to be a coin of M. Aurelius —Antoninus.

I am, etc. STEPHEN VINE.

SURVEY OF THAT PART OF THE ROMAN ROAD CALLED THE IMPERIAL WAV, WHICH LIES BETWEEN SILCHESTER AND STAINES.

[1836, *Part I.*, pp. 535-537.]

At the suggestion of Mr. Wyatt Edgell, a gentleman of antiquarian pursuits residing near Egham, the officers studying in the senior department of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst were employed last term in forming a survey of the course taken by the Roman road from Silchester to the station *Ad Pontes* on the Thames near Staines. Their work was extended over a tract of country comprehending about eighty-eight square miles, and extending twenty-eight miles in length; it was laid down on paper by a scale of 4 inches to a mile, and forms probably the largest plan ever executed at the Institution. Lieutenant Grey, of the 83rd regiment, who took the liveliest interest in tracing the Roman road, has furnished a detailed memoir to the *United Service Journal*, from which we derive the following abstract:

After a preliminary review of the system of Roman roads, the writer commences his account with a description of the remains at Silchester, in which we do not perceive anything before unpublished. At the distance of about a mile and a half from Silchester (he proceeds), towards the north-west, there still exists a long embankment of earth with its ditch, which, after being interrupted for about two miles, appears again in a spot situated due north of the town, near the village of Mortimer; and in the immediate vicinity of the

walls, near the north gate, are the remains of another embankment of the same kind, which, according to a tradition current among the country people, at one time entirely surrounded the city. This last work must have constituted an external fortification; the former is, probably, a remnant of some entrenchment raised for the protection of an army acting on the defensive, and covering the town on that side.

Several roads, which were the lines of communication for the Roman armies during their occupation of the country, intersect each other at Silchester. One of these, forming part of the Ikenild Street, passed through Dorchester in Oxfordshire, crossed the Kennet, probably at Puntfield; from thence, taking the direction of Silchester, and having on each side numerous tumuli, with several traces of intrenched camps, its course was directed to Basingstoke; afterwards, constituting what in Dr. Stukeley's time was called the Long Bank, it proceeded through Winchester to Southampton.

Another road, probably, coincided with part of that called the Portway, which extended from Norwich to Exeter, passing through London, Pontes, and Silchester: according to Camden, it proceeded westward from the latter place through Pamber, and close by the encampment at Kingsclere; after which it crossed the great intrenchment near Andover, considered by Stukeley as a boundary of the Belgæ, and pursued its course in the direction of Old Sarum. A third led from Silchester through Thatcham towards the Vale of the White Horse, in which line several remains of the road have been traced. A fourth is the *Imperial Way*, which extended from London through Bath to Caerleon in Monmouthshire; its course between the last mentioned town and Calleva is the subject of the Fourteenth Iter of Antoninus, and the stations from Bath to London are given in the Twelfth Iter of Richard. That part of this road which lies between Calleva or Silchester, and Staines, and the country lying within two miles of it on each side, is the subject of the present survey.

The road issues from the town at the eastern gate, where the present church of Silchester is situated, and proceeds in a rectilinear direction through Strathfieldsaye, the estate of the Duke of Wellington, along what is now called Park Lane, which is scarcely passable in the winter season: the line of its direction crosses the Loddon, near the bridge at the northern extremity of the park, and passes through a ford near the junction of the Blackwater and Whitewater rivers, about two miles from the place where the united streams fall into the Loddon; but the traces of its course are much interrupted by cultivation, until it arrives at West Court House, the seat of the Rev. H. E. St. John, built, according to tradition, upon the road itself, the direction of which is marked by the avenue to the mansion. Several portions of the road still exist on the ground

northward of Finchampstead Church, occasionally deviating in a slight degree from the precise rectilinear direction, in order to avoid inequalities of the ground; but, on descending the eastern side of the ridge of heights, the course of the road is discovered pursuing an unbroken line from thence along a level country to Easthampstead Plain, and bearing the fanciful name of the Devil's Highway. The ascent of the road obliquely along the sloping ground to this commanding plateau may be distinctly observed, with a deep fosse on one side, and the general eastern direction is preserved quite across the plain. But from this spot, where the road rises to the summit of the plain, on the western side, a lateral branch, which has been carried out in a curvilinear direction, passes by the head of a deep ravine; and then, proceeding across the plain, rejoins the road on the eastern side. At the head of the ravine is an assemblage of aged thorns, which have the name of Wickham Bushes. The spot on which they grow has long been remarkable for the quantities of bricks, tiles, and coarse pottery which have been discovered under its surface (see the "*Archæologia*," vol. vii., p. 199); and immediately in its neighbourhood is the strong intrenchment called Cæsar's Camp, which crowns the summit of a branch projecting from the plateau on its northern side. This work has nearly the form of an oak leaf, and is fortified at the neck by a double parapet and ditch. The intrenchment must have been a post of considerable importance, and probably served as a *Castrum Æstivum*, or summer encampment, for the troops employed to maintain tranquillity in the surrounding district. It is situated at a distance from London equal to about two-thirds of the distance from thence to Silchester; which, as well as the great camp near Farnham, on the Roman road from London to Winchester, is visible from hence, the one at the distance of fourteen, and the other of ten miles.

On descending from Easthampstead Plain, the road proceeds towards Bagshot. At Duke's Hill, near that town, the eastern direction ceases; its course from hence forms an angle of about 25 degrees northward of east, and it is, consequently, almost parallel to the present London road. Near this bend is situated the spot in Rapley's Farm which is described in the seventh volume of the "*Archæologia*" as having been surrounded by a vallum, and a fosse deep enough to contain a tilted waggon; and where many fragments of Roman pottery were turned up by the plough. The road passes now, for about a quarter of a mile, through a plantation, which renders it difficult to discover any trace of it; but, beyond that plantation, it can be easily distinguished, and is well known, by its proper denomination, to the country people. At about a mile from Duke's Hill, the road crosses a marsh, on which it has been raised to a considerable height: from thence it runs through a garden in the occupation of Mr. Hammond; and the foundation, consisting of

gravel, having been here, as elsewhere, dug up, and employed in the formation of paths, the outline of the road presents a remarkable appearance. At this spot it again enters some thick plantations, and for about half a mile can with difficulty be traced: it then becomes tolerably distinct, running over some cultivated ground on the estate of — Forbes, Esq.: from whence, by Charter's Pond to the Sunninghill Road, it is extremely well defined. In the immediate vicinity of the road at this point there exist vast quantities of Roman bricks, paving-tiles, and pieces of pottery ornamented with net-work, scrolls, and borders, precisely similar to those discovered at Wickham Bushes and Duke's Hill, but broken into small fragments by the plough. As, however, the ground at this spot has been brought into cultivation only within the last three years, it is here deserving of careful investigation.

From Sunninghill Road the Imperial Way crosses some low meadow land, where it can scarcely be discerned: and at about a mile from this spot, where it enters Windsor Park, it is for a while totally lost. There is, however, a portion in good preservation, between the point where it enters the Park and the places where its line of direction cuts Virginia Water; it can also be distinguished in a spot near the Belvidere, between those two points, where one of the Park rides runs for about 300 yards along the top; and the labourers assert that, this part of the ride having never required any repair, they had from thence been led to conclude that it was constructed on some ancient road. It should be remarked that the part of the Virginia Water which is crossed by the direction of the Roman road is artificial, and has been formed only within the last forty years.

From this spot, the direction of the road is through a yard of the inn at Virginia Water; and there is a tradition that the foundation had been formerly discovered there. Lastly, at Bakeham House, situated in the same line of direction, on the brow of the hill which forms the east end of the elevated plain called Englefield Green, the substratum of the road, the foundations of a tower or other strong building, with a variety of Roman remains, have been discovered within the last few months.

After stating the previous hypotheses which have placed the station of Bibracte either at Bray or at Wickham Bushes, the writer then gives it as his opinion, in conformity with that of Mr. Leman in his Commentaries on Richard of Cirencester, that Bibracte was situated on the commanding ground over which the road passes near Egham; and that the neighbouring part of the Thames, which it crosses near the island signalled by the charter of English freedom, and near the pillar which bounds the jurisdiction of the city of London, was the place of the station Pontes.

Opposite to Laleham may still be seen three square encampments, which seem to have commanded the passes of the river below Staines:

and near them appear faint traces of a branch road which diverges from the main road at Hytheheld, near Egham, and tends towards Chertsey, from whence it probably continued till it fell into one of the roads through Surrey. This branch road, after crossing the river, appears to have been directed by Ashford, where a portion, in good preservation, till lately remained, and within memory a strong fort existed between Laleham and that place.

[1838, *Part I.*, pp. 192-195.]

The officers studying in the senior department of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst have pursued during the last summer their investigations of the Roman roads in their vicinity. In our number for May, 1836, p. 535, will be found their description of that part of the Imperial Way which lies between Staines and Silchester, which we extracted from the *United Service Journal*; and we now derive from the same quarter a second report of their operations.

On referring to the former article, it will be seen that a remarkable bend takes place in the line of road at Duke's Hill, near Bagshot. This circumstance gave rise to an opinion that two roads here intersected each other; and it was supposed that the part leading from Silchester to this place continued eastward in the same direction, crossing a tract of heath land, till lately quite uncultivated, and passing close to the right bank of the Thames at a bend near Chertsey. The diligence of the surveying party employed in this direction was not, however, rewarded with success; though the known fact that gold coins have been discovered at Chobham, by indicating that some considerable edifice once existed at or near the spot, and the ancient entrenchment whose remains are yet visible on St. George's Hill, in the same line, must be considered as affording considerable evidence in favour of the opinion.

That the line of road from Staines to Duke's Hill continued from thence in the same direction, towards Farnham, may be with reason inferred, though the ground between Bagshot and that town has been so often assigned to the students as the object of their trial surveys, in none of which has any discovery been made, that no chance remains of being able now to trace the course of the road through this district. It appears, however, that in Stukeley's time some remains of the road were visible; and it may not be uninteresting if we collect in this place the scattered notices of that zealous antiquary concerning the course of the Roman road between London and Farnham.

Commencing at London, we find that the road, in its course from the eastern side of our island, coincided with that which still retains the name of Old Street on the northern side of the city; that it afterwards took the direction of Oxford Street; and crossing the Watling Street at Tyburn, it proceeded along the Acton Road, as far as

Camden House, at the back of Kensington. From thence it is said to have continued in the same direction; and, after crossing a brook at what is still called Stanford Bridge, it fell, at Turnham Green, into the present highroad, with which it is supposed to be coincident from thence to Staines. It may be observed that a portion was, in 1785, discovered on Hounslow Heath, by General Roy, and that the whole of the road, thus traced from Tyburn to Staines, is in one right line.

After it has crossed the Thames at Staines, Dr. Stukeley observes that it passes forward, still in a straight line, through gardens and yards into cornfields, and at last degenerates into a footpath towards Thorp Lea in the way to Farnham; the modern road deviating from it, and passing through Egham. [Iter VII.] The line of road from Staines thus indicated is evidently that which was surveyed last year between Staines and Bagshot. It does not appear that Dr. Stukeley pursued it any further in this direction. He states, however, that on the eastern side of Farnham a road from Winchester divides into two branches, one of which proceeds towards Guildford and Dorking, where it meets the Stane Street coming from Chichester, and the other to Staines. The latter he prosecuted as far as Farnborough, which he conceives to be a station or camp to secure the road over this "wild district." He acknowledges that it would be difficult to trace the road any farther in this direction, on account of the sandy nature of the ground; but he observes that, about sixteen years before his time, an urn with Roman coins was found at Frimley, which is also in the line through Farnham, Bagshot, and Staines.

These circumstances leave no doubt of the fact that the road from Staines to Duke's Hill, near Bagshot, was continued in the same direction to Farnham and Winchester; and it is easy to perceive that, after crossing Bagshot Park, and the present road from London to Salisbury, near the Golden Farmer, it must have, in part, coincided with that which proceeds from thence through Frimley and Farnham. The tessellated pavement and other antiquities which have been discovered at Crondall, near the latter place, prove that this part of Hampshire must have been a place of residence for wealthy persons; and the great entrenchment which crowns the heights, indicates that the place must have been a strong military position.

The branch which, at Duke's Hill, diverged from the Farnham road and proceeded to Silchester, was described in the former article and, in continuation of the researches along the line of road towards Bath, the five officers to whom the ground was appointed surveyed the country from Silchester to Hungerford, to the extent of about four miles in breadth, including the Vale of the Kennet, the grounds beyond the present road from London to Bath on the north, and those between the Kennet and Emborne on the south. The officers

were in particular requested to ascertain if about Silchester any remains exist of that part of the Ikenild Street which lay between Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, and Winchester; and one of the party, Lieutenant (now Captain) O'Halloran, was so fortunate as to obtain an introduction to Mr. Congreve, the proprietor of Aldermaston Park, who obligingly directed him to a spot in one of his fir plantations, where, twenty-five or thirty years since, some traces—faint indeed—had been observed.

This was in a line between Silchester and Ufton Church, in the place where that line is intersected by the present road from Round Oak to Four-Houses. After clearing the ground as much as possible, he had the satisfaction to find that the road was still distinguishable, by the trench on each side, to the extent of about 800 yards, beyond which it was lost in a marsh; and by trigonometrical operations, the direction southwards was found to be in a line passing through what is called the North Gate of Silchester. In the opposite direction, no further indications could be found between the spot before mentioned and Ufton Church. In front of this church a track, about 500 yards in length, was observed, similar to the former, but more faintly marked, and almost wholly covered with underwood. Its direction, moreover, did not exactly coincide with that of the part first discovered; but the angle formed by the directions of the produced lines being only about ten degrees, it can scarcely be doubted that both were portions of the same road. An old labourer, who from his infancy had lived at Four-Houses, also stated that within his recollection there existed a road which was covered with greensward, and known to the country people by the name of the "Broad Road," extending from Bramsley, about four miles south of Silchester, in a straight line to the latter place. The direction of this line being identical with that of the portion first mentioned above, it may reasonably be concluded that this part of the Ikenild Street passed through Silchester in the line thus determined. It is probable, therefore, that in coming from Winchester by the present road through Basingstoke the said street diverged from that road at Kempshot turnpike, near Basingstoke, supposed by Mr. Long to be Vindomis; then crossing the road from the latter place to Whitchurch, near Worting, and passing between the intrenchments at Winklebury and Rook's Down, it continued as far as Sherborne; from thence it passed over Latchmore Green, near Bramsley, and entered Silchester on the southern side; afterwards, passing northwards through Ufton, it crossed the Kennet, and, continuing in the same direction, it followed the present road to Pangbourn, where it either crossed the Thames and proceeded in a straight line to Dorchester, or, keeping along the right bank, it passed through Streatley to Wallingford.

It appears from the evidence of the country people that thirty or forty years since there existed a road, covered also with greensward,

which ran in a line from Round Oak to Four-Houses ; that is, nearly in a north-east direction ; and the peasant before mentioned pointed out another portion which passed nearly in the same direction over Burghfield Common towards Reading. The present road from Silchester must have been laid upon this last portion ; for in some places the trench of the old road appears on each side several feet beyond the edge of the modern one. Now, if these portions were produced towards the south-west, the line of their direction would pass over Silchester Common, near that which is called the "Imp Stone," a rude block standing on the heath, about two miles due west of that town, and supposed by Dr. Stukeley to be a milestone. It receives its name from the three letters IMP, which have been cut on it, and which are imagined to denote the word "Imperator."

It was near this spot that Dr. Stukeley, on leaving Silchester to proceed westward, crossed a great Roman road, which he says is called "Long Bank," and which continued, he was informed, to Reading. It may therefore be concluded that the portions above mentioned are traces of this road. Dr. Stukeley supposes that it came from Winchester ; but this is scarcely probable, since the Ikenild Street would have afforded a more direct communication, and since the line of its direction coincides very nearly with that of the Port-way, which is well known to exist between Foss-Cottage, near Ewhurst, and Andover ; and we may rather consider that the Port-way, passing on the west and north of Silchester, was continued in this direction to Reading.

The surveying party, while in the neighbourhood of Silchester, were not so fortunate as to succeed in their attempts to discover any traces of the "Imperial road" between that place and Newbury. Dr. Stukeley, in *Iter VII.*, abruptly breaks off his description at the "Imp Stone ;" and in *Iter IV.*, when observing that a Roman road proceeds from Newbury, or *Spinæ*, westward through Marlborough, he only mentions his belief that it comes from Silchester to the former place ; probably, therefore, its precise course between those towns was, even then, quite unknown. It will not be difficult, however, to form a reasonable opinion concerning that course ; for the "Imp Stone" itself is an indication that the rectilinear direction of the road from Bagshot was preserved, at least, as far as between two and three miles westward of Silchester ; and Lieutenant Wheeler, one of the party, obtained at Newbury the important information that, in digging the ground on the north-east side of the town for the foundations of the houses in Shaw Crescent, which is situated between the village of that name and the London road, the workmen encountered a firmly-compacted bed of gravel and flint which constituted the substratum of an ancient road ; it appears that they did not pursue it further than was necessary for the purposes of their building, but this was sufficient to show that it tended towards the south-east, and,

consequently, in the direction which the Roman road from Silchester may have taken. We may, therefore, presume that this road continued from Silchester, westward, over Brimpton Common, among the tumuli which yet remain there, as far as Combe Wood, when turning to the north-west it crossed Crookham Heath and the vale of the Kennet, after which it coincided nearly with the present London road, at the entrance of the latter into the Crescent where the remains were discovered.

If this were not the course, it would be necessary to suppose, either that the road continued in the rectilinear direction from Silchester Common, along the right bank of the Embourn as far as Newtown, where it would have fallen into the Roman road running northwards from Winchester to Newbury; or that it turned at the "Imp Stone" from the western to the northern direction; that it crossed the Kennet above Aldermaston; then, again turning westward, followed the present Bath road through Newbury. On both these suppositions the changes of direction would have been very abrupt, which is contrary to the general character of the Roman roads between two stations; and no cause could be assigned for the existence of the portion discovered at Shaw, with the direction of which these lines of road are incompatible.

Since the line above supposed crosses the vale of the Kennet, which, in the time of the Romans, must have been a morass, it is necessary also to suppose that the road there was raised on an embankment; and it may be objected that this must have rendered the labour of construction very considerable, but it is well known that such causeways were frequently formed by that people to serve as roads where the ground would otherwise have been impassable; and it is to be observed that, in this direction, the valley is not more than half a mile in breadth.

Judging from the number of intrenched camps whose remains yet exist on the heights between Newbury, Silchester, Wallingford, and Wantage, that district must, while the Romans occupied the country, have required numerous bodies of troops to keep it in subjection. And on the ground about Newbury several of the Roman roads are now known to have crossed each other. A little westward of the present town, in the garden of Mr. Wyld, are some faint indications of an intrenchment on an eminence which commanded the country; and close under it are the few houses which constitute the village of Church Speen. Below this intrenchment a small quantity of Roman pottery and some coins have been discovered, and in 1825 a workman, while cutting peat, found, within 20 yards of the Kennet, and 7 feet under the surface, a spear-head 7 inches long. The distance of this place from Silchester (*Calleva*), and from Marlborough (*Cunetio*), leaves no doubt that it must have been the site of the ancient *Spinæ*, once, perhaps, a considerable place, but which has

almost ceased to exist, in consequence of the rise of Newbury. The latter, probably, derived its name from its more recent construction, and the designation of the other (the thorns) is indicative of the nature of the country; it may also be observed that, from the latter circumstance, or from some appropriation of the soil to the inhabitants of Spinæ, the northern part of Newbury is still denominated Spineham Lands.

The probable direction of the Roman road from Silchester to this place has been already designated. Now, in 1834, when North Brook Street, in Newbury, was macadamised, it was discovered, by the nature of the substratum, that this street lay precisely on the site of an ancient road; and, as the street tends from the bridge exactly northwards, it is evident that the direction of the road coincided with that part of the Ermyn Street which led to this place from Winchester, after passing through Whitchurch and crossing the Port-way near the intrenchment at Egbury, the supposed capital of the Segontiaci. The road appears, in its progress northwards, to have continued in this direction from Newbury, and to have passed near Abingdon and Oxford, where it constituted part of the Akeman Street, which, from thence, went to York. It is crossed by the line of the Ridgeway, or Ickleton Street, which comes from Reading, through Pangbourn, and passes through Abury, along the Vale of the White Horse. At Beedon and Stanmore a branch, still called the "Old Street Way," diverged from it, and proceeded to Wantage, in the direction of a right line from Silchester to the latter town, a circumstance which affords some ground for the opinion that a road from Silchester led directly to Wantage. Be this as it may, we find that, from the upper end of North Brook Street, in Newbury, the Ermyn Street was carried over the high ground in a direction nearly north-west through Stockcross, along what is now called the Upper Baydon Road, and, passing through Cricklade, terminated at Cirencester.

From the same spot on the north of Newbury, the remains of a Roman road, now called Long Lane, proceed towards the north-east, along the foot of the heights on which is the circular intrenchment called Grimsbury Castle. This line, if produced, would meet the Thames at Streatley (so called, perhaps, because it is situated on an ancient street); and the road is that which Stukeley mentions as part of the Icening or Ikenild Street, coming from Woodcot, passing through Goring (on the left bank of the Thames, and opposite to Streatley), and then through Newbury; from which town it proceeded southward, by the part of the Ermyn Street before mentioned, to Winchester, or, by the Port-way, to Old Sarum.

The station at Streatley is probably that which is, by Richard of Cirencester in the Eighteenth Iter (from York to Southampton), designated only as on the Thames; its distance from Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, is stated in the Iter to be six miles; and if we reckon

from the great intrenched camp on Sinodun Hill, which is on the right bank of the Thames, opposite to Dorchester, the distance to Streatley will be less than seven miles—a difference which will not be thought considerable when we recollect the uncertainty of the ancient itinerary distances between the stations.

With respect to the direction of the Imperial Road on leaving Newbury and proceeding towards Bath, from the information obtained by Captain Gordon, which has since been confirmed by the researches of Lieutenants Symonds and Ready, it appears to have coincided with that part of the Cirencester road which is between Church Speen and Benham-Buslot, an extent of about three miles. From this last place it diverged westward; and, in a lane near Hoe-Benham workhouse, there was discovered a portion of the substratum, consisting of a close pavement, about 1 foot thick, of large flints: similar portions were found in a path leading from Elcot to Wickham, at Clapton's Farm, and at Winding Wood in the same direction. Quantities of the stones have been removed from these spots to Barton Court, the seat of Captain Dundas, and to West Park, the seat of Mr. Bacon, where a wall has been built with them. Plain traces of the road again occur at Radley Farm, and from thence it tends to Sibbs' Copse. In the valley between the latter and Heathanger Copse no traces of the road now remain, but its former existence here is preserved in the memories of the country people. Continuing in the same direction through Oaken Copse, Lieutenant Ready fell in with a portion of the road, extending about 700 yards in length, the substratum of which is nearly entire: from thence he followed it to the place where the line crosses the present Oxford road, about 400 yards from the Kennet. Here all traces are lost, but, according to tradition, the ancient road ran nearly parallel to the river, and at length crossed it opposite the eastern extremity of the narrow ridge of ground which extends between Littlecot and Marlborough.

The tessellated pavements which were discovered a few years since at the former place, and at Rudge, are indications that the road passed over the said line of elevated ground, which commands the country to a considerable distance northwards and southwards. Its course is through Folly Farm, and from thence it proceeded westwards, according to Stukeley, through the present street of Marlborough. At Folly Farm the ancient roads from Winchester and Salisbury crossed each other; and the last has been traced to a station near Swindon, on the road from Spinæ to Cirencester.

ROMAN ROADS IN ESSEX.

[1864, *Part I.*, p. 357.]

The Rev. Henry Jenkins has recently printed in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* his views on the course of the Roman

roads in Essex mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Being founded upon extensive local knowledge and a long study of the subject, Mr. Jenkins's opinions can but receive the attention they merit; and it appears to us, so far as we have yet been enabled to examine them, that they will, at least, tend to correct the pre-conceived and popular notions on the lines of Roman roads in this county: for the present it may be sufficient to give Mr. Jenkins's emendations of the road from Colchester to London:

STATIONS.	MILES.	PROPOSED SITES.	MILES.
Camulodunum		Colchester.	
Canonium . . . 9 . .		Hayne's Green . . .	8
Cæsaromagum . 12 . .		Billericay	18
Durolitum . . . 16 . .		Barking Creek . . .	16
Londinium . . . 15 . .		London	10
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	52		52

The discovery of the sepulchral remains at East Ham reported in our number for January last is of additional interest in regard to Mr. Jenkins's proposed rectifications [*ante*, pp. 77-79].

ROMAN STATIONS IN ESSEX.

[1834, *Part I.*, pp. 171-174.]

Whether Braintree or Coggeshall was the intermediate Roman Station between Colchester and Dunmow? and whether the site of Canonium is at Chipping Hill in Witham or at Kelvedon?

As to the First Proposition.—It seems to be allowed on all hands that there was a Roman station on the military way between Camulodunum (Colchester, or rather Lexden, which was included in the extensive walls which surrounded Colchester), and Dunmow (the Villa Faustina of some authors); and this station has been generally considered to have been at Coggeshall, but, according to the best information which I can obtain, and a careful inspection of remaining indications, I believe upon insufficient grounds.

From a perusal of the remarks of Weever, Lethieullier, and Morant, it appears to me that the grounds upon which the station is supposed to have been at Coggeshall consist of these particulars; first, the existence of some bank at or near Coggeshall, indicating that the military way passed through it; secondly, the finding of two Roman sepulchral urns; and, lastly, the finding one coin of Antoninus Pius.

As to these several grounds, it appears to follow that, if similar indications are to be found at Braintree, there is as much reason for fixing the station there as at Coggeshall; and if those indications exist to a much greater extent at the former place, the reasons

for fixing it there will preponderate. These indications, therefore, I shall beg leave to consider in their order.

First.—There is said to be a bank in or near Coggeshall which formed part of the Roman military way in question; which, I believe, is correct, and that it is on the entrance of the town from Braintree opposite the vicarage field, and upon the crown of which the Fleece public-house and the line of houses of which that house forms a part stand; and upon the northern slope of which the present road runs; but then we have a much more extensive bank at Braintree on the same line of road; it commences at the Bird-in-Hand, on the Coggeshall Road, and reaches all the way to the entrance of the town, a distance of a quarter of a mile and more, having a ditch or foss all along the south side of it, which may be seen in various places by the side of the road; and by walking in the fields at the back of the houses much more of it may be seen. It begins near the barn standing in a field belonging to the poor on the Cressing Road, and reaches all the way to the front of a row of houses in one of which Mr. Boyton, a carpenter, lately lived; indeed, the ditch is so extensive there that the houses are built in it; and there is, moreover, about midway of the distance I have mentioned, a still deeper ditch on the north side of the road or bank, against the field which adjoins Dead Lane, where a section of the bank taken nearly opposite the middle of the field would be nearly in this form: [A sketch is here given.]

Besides which, there was an ancient and extensive artificial mount, forming a part of an encampment on the south side of, and connected with this bank; it was 10 feet high; the principal part of it has been recently removed, and the remainder now forms part of the ornamental grounds of the "Mount" house, rebuilt by the Rev. Mr. Scalè.

The bank I have here mentioned is so extensive that I am not aware that Coggeshall can show anything like it; but, after all, these indications only go to show that both Braintree and Coggeshall are situated upon the military way, which seems to be admitted on all hands; and I should not have mentioned them if the one at Coggeshall had not been referred to as leading to the notion that the station was there, whereas I submit it shows no such thing.

Secondly.—There have been two Roman sepulchral urns found at Coggeshall, and at Braintree there have also been two found, besides six at Stisted, a village adjoining Braintree, and various Roman antiquities mentioned by Gough at Black Notley, another village adjoining Braintree. The two found at Braintree are in the possession of Mrs. Tabor; they each contained a smaller one, and fragments of bones; and in one of them was a nail, which I understand is very like some brought from Herculaneum, now in the British Museum. As to the six found at Stisted, I obtained my information from Charles Saville-Onley, Esq., who found them on rebuilding

Stisted Hall. They are, however, in fragments, except a small one, which would contain about a pint, which was also inclosed in a larger one.

Lastly.—There appears to have been one coin, namely, of Antoninus Pius, found at Coggeshall, but there have been thousands found in and near Braintree. I have collected or seen of those so found specimens of those of twenty-four emperors, etc., commencing with Agrippa and ending with Honorius, including an Antoninus Pius; and Mrs. Tabor secured, of a quantity found in 1828, more than 2,200 coins: and I know of two other collections. If they had all been found at one place I should not have placed so much reliance upon them; but they have been found in very many places, and at different times, and are being found almost daily. Besides which I find, by Wright's "*History of Essex*," now in course of publication, that an urn filled with Roman coins was found some time ago in the grounds belonging to High Garrett in Bocking, which adjoins Braintree; and that of those so found a considerable number, chiefly of the Emperor Vespasian, were carefully preserved by Mr. Jonathan Reeve, at that time the proprietor of the estate; and, according to Mr. Wright's *History*, another coin or medal of Antoninus was found at Braintree in excellent preservation.

Upon the whole, if these indications are to decide the matter, it stands thus:—there are for Coggeshall a portion of the Roman road, two funeral urns, and one coin of Antoninus Pius; and for Braintree an equal or greater portion of road, six more urns, and many other antiquities, two coins of Antoninus Pius, and thousands of others; some of emperors who reigned 100 years before his time, and others 250 years afterwards.

As to the Second Proposition.—The first authority to be consulted is Antoninus, whose ninth *Iter* gives the distances of several towns and stations connected with the question, to this effect: from *Camulodunum* (Colchester) to *Canonium* nine miles: from thence to *Cæsaromagum* (Writtle) twelve miles; from thence to *Durolitum* sixteen miles; and from thence to *Londinum* fifteen miles; total, fifty-two miles, which agrees as nearly as may be with the distance computed by our present miles, we calling Colchester fifty-one miles from London. The next author to be consulted is Camden; but we may soon dismiss him, for he admits that the ancient places of this county are so strangely obscure and puzzling that he must freely own himself in the dark. Then comes Morant, who, quoting Antoninus, ninth *Iter*, places *Canonium* about Kelvedon; and in point of fact Kelvedon is, according to our present computation, ten miles from Colchester, and Chipping Hill is thirteen; and certainly, if Antoninus's apparent respective distances between Colchester and Kelvedon and Chipping Hill are to decide the question, Kelvedon will be the nearer spot. But if it can be made

appear that there are no indications or relics of a Roman camp or station at or about Kelvedon, and that there are extensive, and I believe undoubted ones at Chipping Hill, and the apparent discrepancy as to the distances can be reconciled, the consequence must be a decision in favour of the latter.

Let us, then, in the first place, consider the subject with regard to those distances. Camulodunum was the capital of the Roman province of that name; and that it extended for two miles and more beyond the present obelisk at Colchester, whence the present distances are calculated, is proved by the most extensive and perfect remains of Roman ramparts that perhaps are to be found in the kingdom. If, then, the respective distances from Colchester to Kelvedon and Witham are calculated, not from any central point, but from the ancient extremity of Colchester, namely, Lexden, as is the case at present with regard to London, these distances will stand thus: from Camulodunum to Kelvedon eight miles, and to Chipping Hill eleven miles; and then we must look for Canonium one mile in advance of Kelvedon, and two miles short of Chipping Hill, so that Chipping Hill is within one mile as near the required distance as Kelvedon. But let us go a little further, and instead of calculating the distances from Camulodunum, calculate them from Cæsaromagum (Writtle) and endeavour to find the site of Canonium that way, and then the distances will stand thus: from Cæsaromagum to Canonium twelve miles: and Chipping Hill is as near as may be the exact distance, and Kelvedon is fifteen; so that if in one way Chipping Hill is one mile further from the supposed spot than Kelvedon, in the other way it is exactly upon the spot, and Kelvedon is three miles from it. And if we consider the distances at present calculated from Colchester to Writtle to be twenty-four miles, that is more than Antoninus makes it by three miles; but if we calculate, as I propose doing, from Lexden, that will reduce the twenty-four to twenty-two, which agrees as near as may be with Antoninus's account, namely, twenty-one miles. I submit, therefore, that in point of distance Chipping Hill has full as good a claim to be considered the site of the station in question as Kelvedon, if not a better. And it appears to me to follow that, if any Roman remains of any consequence can be found on any one spot anywhere between Witham and Kelvedon, and nowhere else thereabouts, those remains will go near to decide the point; and that there are such at Chipping Hill I believe is beyond all manner of doubt; namely, the remains of an extensive camp, the chief works of which must have been the result of immense labour, and the outworks of which may be traced to considerable distances. Gibson, in his notes on Camden, speaking of Witham, says: "It does not want good evidences of its antiquity, for between the church and the street are still visible the remains of a large old camp, though much of the fortifications are digged down to make way for the

plough;" and he cites Matthew of Westminster as an authority that Edward the Elder built a castle there about the years 912 or 914, which he observes is a further proof of its antiquity, since the Saxon nobility made choice of the forsaken camps of the Romans. In addition to which Morant mentions, that in levelling some of those remains, two coins, one of Valens and the other of Gratian, were found by Mr. Barwell.

One would naturally expect, if the two stations existed where I have fixed them, that there would be some apparent communication between them; and such alone we have by the Cressing road, which is literally a continuation of banks and hollow ways, the former thrown up so high, and being at the same time so narrow, as to be actually dangerous as a carriage road, and the latter being of the depth in some places of 10 feet or more, and these in a more obvious degree than on any road with which I am acquainted, and just agreeing with the idea which Lethieullier gives us of the manner of making roads by the Romans, namely, by digging deep in search of a solid bottom, or, where they could find none, of making a solid artificial one. C.

[1846, *Part I.*, pp. 597, 598.]

An apparent discrepancy between two of the Journeys of Antonine's Itinerary has occasioned a difficulty in settling the stations in Essex and the adjoining counties which I would gladly assist in removing.

The Ninth Journey runs from Cæsaromagus to Canonium, and thence to Camulodunum; the fifth is from Cæsaromagus to Camulodunum, but without any intermediate station; while the former route is not, as might be expected, longer, but shorter than the other.

Perhaps this difference between the two statements in the Itinerary cannot be more easily explained than by supposing it to recognise two roads from Cæsaromagus (which we will call Writtle near Chelmsford), one direct to Colchester by Witham, and passing through Canonium; the other running up to Braintree, and there turning into the Dunmow and Colchester road, and so to Colchester, avoiding Canonium. The first is generally received both as a Roman military way, and as the route of the Itinerary; the second has been considered as a Roman way, *not* connected with the Itinerary; and whether justly so considered is the question I am desirous of raising.

By the former of these roads the distances would be as follows:—

ITER IX.

Cæsaromagus to Canonium, and thence to Camulodunum	
(Itinerary miles)	21
Chelmsford to Colchester (measured miles)	22

By the latter as follows :—

ITER V.

Cæsaromagus to Colonia (understood to be Camulodunum)	24
Chelmsford to Braintree 11 }	
Braintree to Colchester 15 }	26

At the beginning of the Fifth Journey, from Londinium to Cæsaromagus, we have an Itinerary distance of twenty-eight miles, and from London to Chelmsford a computed distance of twenty-nine miles, which would be at least thirty if measured from the centre of Roman London.

Pursuing the Ninth Journey to Ad Ansam we have the Itinerary distance nine, and the measured distance nine and a half.

Now in all these we keep to the numbers of the Itinerary ; and if from the common sources of information I have stated the modern numbers with tolerable correctness, we have in every case the same relative proportion between the ancient and modern miles, a circumstance of great importance when it applies to the roads of a particular county or district.

In the route here suggested for a part of the Fifth Iter of Antonine it is, perhaps, implied that the distance between Colchester and Braintree was twice passed over ; in other words, that a person making a digression to Colchester, in a journey from London to Lincoln, had to go and return fifteen miles on the same piece of road. But whether on the same or another road, the loss of ground is inevitable ; and the objection, if it is one, is really to the digression itself, which of course we cannot entertain.

The stations on both of the Journeys to which I have referred, extending into the counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, and Northampton, appear to have been kept in doubt from the want of two or three ascertained or admitted points in Essex. May we not hope to see this deficiency supplied ? It is particularly desirable to fix Canonium, which has been placed in some half-dozen different localities, to the great disturbance of all the classical topography of the neighbourhood.

Yours, etc. A. T.

ROMAN ROADS IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

[1797, p. 110-112.]

Presuming that any recent attempts to ascertain the situation of Roman stations in Staffordshire, hitherto unfixed with certainty in any of the Itineraries, etc., may be acceptable, I offer the following result of some late observations, founded partly upon hints previously given me by J. F., and since aided by a very ingenious and learned friend in the county, the Rev. Samuel Dickenson,

Rector of Blymhill, to whom and his son I am likewise much indebted for their valuable assistance in the natural history, etc.

In the Eighteenth Iter of Richard of Cirencester we find the station of *Ad Trivonam* (not noticed in the Itinerary of Antonine), and its distance of twelve miles from *Derventio*, or Little Chester, near Derby, on the one side, and from *Etocetum*, or Wall, near Lichfield, on the other. Neither Gale nor Horsley have assigned any modern place to this station; but Stukeley supposes it to be Burton-upon-Trent; and, no doubt, from the distances above given, it was not far from thence, but not at Stretton, as Dr. Plot conjectured it to be; as did also the late Dr. Pegge, in his learned essay upon the *Coritani*; for that does not all agree with the distances in the Iter, being only ten miles one way, and fourteen the other. Besides, I presume from the name, *Ad Trivonam*, signifying a town or station at or by the Trent, we must look for it much nearer than Stretton, which is a mile from it. At Branston, then, about two miles south of Burton, I have now very little doubt of fixing it, where the distances exactly correspond with those in Richard, and the river winds so as to form a promontory, well adapted both for their protection and supply of one of the grand necessities of military life, water. It is true, I have not yet been able to discover any traces of a camp, tumulus, etc., to corroborate the above hypothesis. But, in an old rental of Sir William Paget, 3 Edward VI. (now belonging to the Earl of Uxbridge, who has a noble property in this parish), I find the names of Bury Farm, Bury or Brampston Hill, which certainly indicate the site of some ancient place suitable to the present purpose. As I believe the stations mentioned in Antonine and Richard's Itineraries were all provided with comfortable habitations of brick or stone building for the Roman garrison, the reason for no vestiges appearing in this, or in other situations universally acknowledged to have been stations, is, that the materials have been transported from the spot for the purposes of building towns, etc., in the neighbourhood; and, most probably, the materials of this station were removed before the Conquest to build Burton Abbey, or its great bridge.

Whilst I was thus engaged last autumn, my above worthy friend and coadjutor in these abstruse subjects was no less successfully employed upon the Watling Street, in finding out the situation of two other doubtful stations, of which he has favoured me with the following:

"Not a doubt remains with me at present of the site of *Uxocona* having been at the modern village of Ocongate, or Oconyate. One great difficulty occurred, viz., the distance of this place from Wroxeter, which is only eight miles; and the Itinerary distance from *Uriconium* to *Uxocona* is eleven. This induced Horsley to fix upon a spot opposite Sheriffhales for the site of *Uxocona*; which having

carried him three miles too much towards the east, he in consequence places Pennocrucium at Penkridge. In order to obviate this objection, which I could not for some time resolve, a thought luckily occurred, confirmed since by very weighty arguments, that the present road from Watling Street turnpike to Wroxeter, if it was at all a road in the time of the Romans, was only a *via vicinalis*; and that the grand military way turned off at Watling Street gate to the left, towards Little Wenlock, in order to maintain the high ground on the south side of the Wrekin, and at length fell into the Roman road (leading from Wroxeter to Worcester) a few miles short of Wroxeter. This course reconciles the site of Oconyate to the Itinerary distance, and removes every difficulty. In the present road between Watling Street and Wroxeter, there was formerly a morass, which no carriage could without great difficulty pass over even at midsummer. My friend Mr. Pennant concurs with me in opinion that a ruin, which we both saw at Oconyate about thirty years ago, was the remains of a Roman hypocaust. Oconyate being then determined upon for the site of Uxocona, the Itinerary distance of twelve miles brings us precisely to Stretton, where I have discovered a remarkable eminence, called Roley Hill, with a gentle declivity to the meadows adjacent to the river Penk, which has the conveniency of a ford in this part. This eminence occupies about five acres, and is crowned with a tumulus, which appears to have served for an exploratory mount. It is scarcely one mile north from the street-way; and, whether it was a station or not, it is such a situation as, I am persuaded, a Roman general would gladly have made choice of for this purpose."

Dr. Plot was likewise of opinion that this Stretton was the site of Pennocrucium, particularly as it answered to the distance in the Itinerary; and his only objection, of no Roman coins or other antiquities being found there, has been since sufficiently removed; for a celt was found here in 1717, and shown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1726, who engraved it in the "*Archæologia*," vol. v., p. 113; not long after which, in ploughing the grounds of Mr. Congreve, at Stretton (where his family had lived for many ages), was found a brass head of the bolt of a catapulta, another of the same metal and shape being found, about a fortnight after, at Wall, or Etocetum.

One day last October, Mr. Dickenson favoured me with his company to explore the celebrated Rykenild Street across Sutton Coldfield, where it certainly remains in the most perfect state imaginable. It was truly an agreeable change from the close attention to old parchments, and the necessary studies for a County History, to be thus enchantingly led along such venerable, I had almost said sacred, ground, in company with one whose mind is not only replete with classical erudition, but who had formerly examined similar roads in Italy, though none, he confessed, so wide and beautiful as the part

which then arrested from his pen the following very pertinent description :

"If any remains of venerable antiquity may claim the attention, or even a distant visit, from all who have the least curiosity for such researches, it is the Ikenild Way in its course through Sutton Park, and across the Colfield. It is here a very spacious road, not less than 60 feet in breadth ; and, though the surface be in general overrun with heath, and, for a short space in the park, overspread with oaks of considerable magnitude, yet the regularity of its figure has not been disturbed by the lapse of fourteen centuries. It is formed by gravel and materials on the spot ; high raised in the centre, with a gentle slope to the borders on each side, where it is skirted by the gutters from which it was in part cast up. The admirable preservation of its original rotundity of surface to the extent of some miles is owing to the following circumstances : first, its situation on ground where the busy transforming hand of culture has never intruded, being for a mile and a half inclosed in a park, and, beyond that, extending more than a mile on the south and nearly a mile on the north side the park, over a dreary desert, the aspect of which does not appear to have been changed since the time of the Romans ; and, secondly, it is not in use as a public road for carriages, nor are any marks of ruts or other inequalities from friction visible on its surface.

"Its proximity to an allowed Roman station at Wall, *olim Etocetum*, where it intersects another Roman road of equal celebrity, renders it, if possible, an object of higher regard. The names of the adjacent villages, Wall and Chesterfield, give the most satisfactory confirmation to the claim of this neighbourhood as exhibiting lasting monuments of Roman grandeur. Nor can any ingenuous mind view such striking testimonies of historic truth without unusual emotion."

Thence we inspected and measured a small undescribed camp (an engraving of which, together with other miscellaneous antiquities, had been previously contributed to my first volume by the present learned and worthy Bishop of Cloyne), about a mile northward, in a corner of the same Coldfield, near Bourn Pool, which was no doubt Roman, and was probably used by some of the army from Etocetum as an occasional retreat during their exploratory excursions in this vicinity. The remainder of the evening was spent in agreeable conversation and contemplation upon the above subjects, etc., at the adjoining hospitable mansion of William Tennant, Esq., Little Aston Hall. Whence the following day, in our way to Wall, we saw a great natural curiosity upon another of his estates at Stonall, in the parish of Shenston, viz., the remains of a small forest of pinés, which have been for some years past dug up in great numbers, and of a vast size, in a peat-moor of about 100 acres. In general, the lower parts or stumps of the fir-trees, with immense roots, are only found ; but sometimes the trunks themselves lying prostrate beneath the surface ;

and the tenant, Mr. Smith, showed us one which he had lately dug up 18 yards long and proportionably thick, the wood being almost impenetrably hard. How many ages they have thus lain, or what brought them here, would require a long and separate article of discussion ; but I am at present in the same opinion with Dr. Plot, from the growing position in which these stumps and roots are found, that they were indigenous firs, and not the remaining effects of any, or the great, deluge.

Leaving these natural curiosities for those of Roman art, we next visited the ruins of Etocetum, which remain much in the state as described by Stukeley, etc. Hence we walked half a mile across the meadow land, to examine a most curious and singular discovery in Roman antiquities in Mr. Bradburne's estate at Pipe Hill, of which Mr. William Pitt, the ingenious author of the "Staffordshire Agricultural Report," had previously informed me, viz., the remains of a real Roman *vallum*, or military barricade, extending from Wall (the ancient Etocetum), northward, through Pipe Hill, parallel to the brook which, passing east of Pipe Hill, goes through Wall. This wooden fortification was composed of the whole trunks of oak-trees standing on an end close to each other, and fixed some depth in the ground. The valley on the east, or outside, of this fence, now good meadow land, was doubtless then a morass, perhaps scarcely passable ; but the Roman station rendered more difficult of access by this wooden wall. The timber above ground has long since been rotted off ; but numbers of the bottoms had been dug up by Mr. Bradburne for several years past in draining his estate here. Several of these curious specimens we then saw, the bottom parts of which were turned quite black, but remained perfectly sound, and retained the marks of the axe as visible as on the day they had been cut off, probably 2000 years ago. But, what is more remarkable, a few days subsequent to our then visiting the spot, Mr. Bradburne found, in digging a drain, several entire pieces of timber, of which the above military barricade had been composed, several of which I afterwards saw myself that had been then dug up, and several more lying prostrate close to each other, about 2 feet beneath the surface. By the side of these was found a wooden mallet, since unfortunately destroyed by fire. These pieces are uniform in length and shape, and consist of the whole trunks of oaks, 12 feet long, and from 10 to 12 inches diameter in the heart, the sap being rotted off. Each piece of timber composing this work has a cavity of 4 inches wide, and 3 feet long from the top, cut down its middle, evidently for a look-out, or for the purpose of discharging missile weapons on an assailant without being themselves exposed. This barricade has already been traced upwards of 500 yards in length, not continued in a straight line, but with flanking bastions placed according to the nature of the ground. The particular part where these entire pieces have been discovered seems to have been

at the angle of one of the bastions, and they were probably thrown down by violence, which has fortunately been the means of preserving this curious and unique specimen, being perhaps the only one left in this island that has escaped the wreck of ages. to verify the words of Cæsar, "*castra vallo fossaque muniri jubet*" ("*Commentaries*," B. G., I. 5.)

STEBBING SHAW.

ROMAN ROADS AND STATIONS OF THE REGNI.

[1841, *Part II.*, pp. 260-262.]

That part of Britain which now constitutes the counties of Surrey and Sussex was, in the time of Cæsar, inhabited by a people called Bibroci. They were afterwards the Regni of Ptolemy.

Their change of name may be accounted for by the circumstance recorded by Tacitus, who informs us that Claudius gave certain cities to King Cogidunus, because he remained faithful to the Romans: and Richard of Cirencester, in speaking of this matter, says, certain cities were yielded to Cogidunus that he might form a kingdom (*ut inde sibi conderet Regnum*). I apprehend, therefore, that the Regni continued under the government of their native princes, and were but little interfered with by the Romans. The inscription found at Chichester, more than a century ago, serves, in some measure, to show that Cogidunus was King of the Bibroci [*ante*, p. 335].

Some of our eminent antiquaries have assigned portions of Hampshire and Berkshire to the Regni, but I think the territory of this people did not extend beyond Surrey and Sussex.

Ptolemy speaks of the Regni and their town Neomagus.

Richard of Cirencester's account of this people is as follows:—

"The vast forest called by some the Anderidan, and by others the Caledonian, stretches from Cantium an hundred and fifty miles, through the countries of the Bibroci and the Segontiaci, to the confines of the Hedui. The Bibroci were situated next to the Cantii, and, as some imagine, were subject to them." "They were also called Rhemi [*pro Regni*], and are not unknown in record. They inhabited Bibrocum, Regentium and Noviomagus, which was their metropolis. The Romans held Anderida."

Bibrocum was, as I believe, the Pontes of Antoninus, and which I place at Walton-upon-Thames. There are many reasons which induced me to conclude that Walton was the site of Pontes, and that it was identical with Richard's Bibrocum.*

Regentium (the Regnum of Antoninus) was undoubtedly at Chichester.

Noviomagus (which seems to have been the chief town of the Regni, as said by Ptolemy) is mentioned in the Second Iter of Antoninus, and in two of the Iters of Richard of Cirencester, viz., the

* See a paper of mine in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1841, upon the subject; and see some Remarks among the Minor Correspondence for April. [See Note 38.]

15th and 17th, and was at Carshalton and Wallington in Surrey. The reasons given for placing this station elsewhere do not deserve much attention.

With regard to Anderida, it should be particularly observed that Richard closes his account of the Bibroci (or Regni) by saying the Romans held Anderida. The only importance I attach to this is, that they garrisoned Anderida, whilst the Britons themselves held the other towns, under the stipulation made in the time of Claudius with Cogidunus, as above mentioned. In placing Anderida at Arundel, I differ with all preceding writers on the subject; but there can scarcely exist a doubt upon it: and I cannot avoid expressing some little surprise that what seems to me so obvious should have been overlooked. Anderida is mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii* as then occupied by a detachment of the Abulei. This place is also noticed in the 15th and 17th Iter of Richard. To whatever period Richard's Itinerary refers, it is, I conclude, much anterior to the *Notitia*.

Portus Adurni, another station mentioned in the *Notitia*, was at Shoreham. See Camden.

For many ages after the establishment of the Roman power in this island, it seems that no attention was paid to this portion of it by the Romans, in consequence, probably, of the yielding it to Cogidunus, as previously mentioned. The great forest above alluded to, and the deep soil of the country between the South Downs and the Surrey Hills, rendered the communication between London and the Sussex coast difficult and uncertain; and it is plain from the Seventh Iter of Antoninus, that, at that time, the road from Regnum (Chichester) to London was through Winchester, and otherwise very circuitous.

The 15th Iter of Richard of Cirencester describes a journey from Anderida (Arundel) to York. No station is mentioned in it before Noviomagus, which is more than forty miles from Anderida, if we except Sylva Anderida. The meaning of this is, that the route to Noviomagus was through the forest of Anderida. This way could have been passable only in summer. That there were many tracks and ways through the forest, it is natural to suppose: and I presume there was one more frequented than the others, which led through the forest to Horsham, and from thence (*viâ* Reigate) to the Surrey Hills, and on to Noviomagus.

This road may, I think, be traced from the frequent occurrence of the term *gate** in the names of places on or about this line. In later times, but during the Roman period, there arose, I presume, on this line, two towns or stations which are mentioned in the Catalogue of the Geographer of Ravenna, namely Ravimago, now Horsham, and Omire, now Gatton. In fact, the attacks made on the southern coast of this island in the fourth century, by the Franks, Saxons, etc., called the attention of the Romans, throughout that century, to this

* A Saxon term for a road or way.

part of the island, and particularly to the want of roads between London and this coast; it being almost certain that no formed road existed at that period.

With reference to Horsham being the ancient Ravimago, I beg to observe that the present name is evidently Saxon; but the old one is retained in a hamlet, or some portion of the parish, now called Roffey; and probably the name was originally written Rauvimago. The incorrectness in names in the Catalogue above alluded to is well known.

In placing Omire at Gatton, I am strongly induced by the circumstance of the subjacent country being still known by the name of Homesdale and Homewood. The tradition of Gatton having been a Roman town is well known. Moreover, Omire, in the Geographer's Catalogue, is mentioned in conjunction with Tedertis, which was, I have no doubt, the then neighbouring Roman station at Walton-upon-the-Hill (where Roman remains have been found), and the ancient name, Tedertis, is still retained in Tadworth, a considerable hamlet adjoining. At the end of the fourth century, during the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, much attention was paid to defending the southern coast, and it was not, in my opinion, until that time that the two great roads from London to that coast were made.

One of these roads led to Arundel (the Anderida of the Romans); and the other to Shoreham (Portus Adurni). It appears by the Notitia that both these stations were then garrisoned.

These roads are still traced through a great part of their course. Their point of commencement was, I presume, at or about Newington. A Janus's head was found hereabouts. The road to Arundel (which I presume to have been the more considerable of the two) passed through the places now called Ewell, Dorking, Billingshurst, and Pulboro'; and I believe that the stations on this road are all mentioned in the Catalogue of the Geographer by the names of

CANCA,
DOLOCINDO,
CLAVINIO, or CLAVIMO,
BOLVELAUNIO.

Canca, was, I think, at Ewell, where many Roman coins have been found, and tradition gives it an importance in former times.

Dolocindo was at Dorking, where much of the road has been traced by myself; and many coins and other Roman remains have been discovered. Dorking was, in my opinion, a British town.

Clavinio, or Clavimo, was on or near a spot now called Clemsfold (near Slinfold, in Sussex), where coins and other remains have been found. A bridge here is now called the Roman Bridge.

Bolvelaunio was at Pulboro', which has always been considered a Roman station.

The other road passed through Croydon to Shoreham (Portus Adurni), and perhaps it is not so well traced as the one to Arundel, but still enough has been discovered to show pretty accurately its course. I am induced to think that the stations on this road were,

ANICETIS,
MEIEZO, or MOIEZO,
IBERNIO,
LINDINIS ;

which are also mentioned in the aforesaid Catalogue.

Anicetis was, I am inclined to believe, at Croydon. The name is perhaps retained in Addington and Addiscombe. A Roman road has been discovered in the neighbourhood of Croydon ; and this place has been supposed by some to have been the Noviomagus of the Itinerary, but in my opinion erroneously so.*

Meiezo, or Moiezo, was probably at a place now called Meistham, but written (as I think incorrectly) Merstham ; between which and East Grinstead much of this road has been discovered, and much well known as an old Roman road.

Ibernio I place at East Grinstead, and think that the name is retained in Imberhorn, a place in that neighbourhood. Perhaps Ibernio is a contraction of Imbernio ; the leaving out an *m* being very common in Latin written with abbreviations.

Lindinis probably was at Lindfield, in Sussex, where a Roman road has been discovered, which went on to Shoreham (Portus Adurni). Camden was clearly of opinion that Portus Adurni was there, and there appears no reason to doubt it.

There are three other towns, or stations, mentioned in the Geographer's Catalogue, which I think are to be found within the limits of the Regni, namely, Morionio, Ardaoneon, and Leucomago.

I place Morionio at Kingston-upon-Thames. Matthew Paris tells us that the old name of this place was Moreford. Considerable Roman remains have been found here.

Ardaoneon I place at Guildford, for the reasons I have given in Brayley's new "History of Surrey."

Leucomago we are to look for at Lewes. The name seems of British derivation, and was, in my opinion, expressive of the situation of Lewes as regards steepness. It is, undoubtedly, a very ancient place.

There is also a station called Onna in the said list of towns, which perhaps was at Wandsworth.

Although I have thus shortly explained my views with regard to

* At all events, Croydon is a place of considerable antiquity.

the town, stations, etc., of the Regni, I must impress upon the minds of my readers that the conclusions I have arrived at are the result of many years' attention to the subject. I have avoided giving reasons for my opinions, except in a few instances, as I intend to enter more elaborately into these inquiries at a future period; and perhaps I may then succeed in convincing some who are now disposed not to concur with me in my somewhat novel views of this subject.

Yours, etc. JAMES PUTTOCK.

LINE OF THE ROMAN ROAD FROM THE HUMBER TO YORK.

[1852, *Part I.*, pp. 483, 484.]

An unthought-of auxiliary appears in the field of antiquarian research. The modern agriculturist's underdrainer may cut through the course of some concealed iter, strike against the foundation of a once splendid villa, or even reveal the real site of a long misplaced Roman station. A discovery of that kind has been made in this neighbourhood during the late winter, which I request permission to place on record in the pages of your valuable magazine, for the information of future antiquaries.

The level of some underdrains about to be cut for the improvement of land late added to his estate by George Baron, Esq., of Drewton Manor, required the channel of the brook (provincially called Drewton Beck) to be lowered about 2 feet. This lowering brought to light one portion of the long-inquired-after line of Roman road from Brough (supposed to be the ancient Petuaria) on the shore of the Humber, to Eboracum. The discovery was first made at about 22 yards to the east of a bridge lately built over that brook; and a very little beyond the first mile-stone from South Cave, on the turnpike road from that place to Market Weighton; which road, here at least, runs parallel with the Roman way, and points nearly north from the Humber. Within 2 feet of the surface of the ground at the above-named distance from the bridge, the workmen had to dig through a stratum of hard substances, which they describe as similar to concrete, of the width of from 5 to 7 yards, and of the thickness of some 6 inches. When questioned, the labourers were quite certain as to there being no natural vein, but artificial, and formed by gravel and other materials. The same stratum was cut through on digging some of the underdrains. It was traced by the proprietor about 70 yards in advance northwards, at the depth of 4 feet below the surface, which is there rising ground. A few years since it was traced still further in advance, in the garden before Kettlethorpe (or rather Keldthorpe) farmhouse. And, if I am not under mistake, it may be traced still more northerly on the crown of the hill near the Keldthorpe turnpike.

A denarius of Antoninus Pius was found in the above-mentioned garden not long since, and is now in possession of an inhabitant of the neighbourhood; and coins and other Roman relics have been found within late years near to Drewton Manor. The lid of a small urn was this winter brought to light on levelling some ground in the close, which was then underdrained.

Some three or four years ago an old road was discovered at a little depth below the surface, running through a small field (or garth, as is the provincial name), belonging to a cottage, then recently built by Henry Good, about half a quarter of a mile to the east of South Cave, on the Beverley Road. It runs south and north, pointing to the Humber, and towards Drewton.

It is a singular fact that this discovery at Drewton should be contemporary with what, if not a discovery, is a local tradition, brought to notice by the concluding Ordnance survey of this district.

About a mile to the west of the south end of Market Weighton, on the Cliffe Road, a small occupation lane, called Short Lane, turns at nearly a right angle to the north. Through two fields on the west of that lane a ridge is very perceptible; and at the ditch of the fence which divides those two fields a section is very evident through a gravelly stratum of the width of some 6 yards and thickness of 6 inches, about a foot below the surface. This section may be some 40 yards to the north of the Cliffe Road. To the east, or north-east, of Short Lane, the same ridge may be traced, pointing directly to a farm-house belonging to the Honourable Charles Langdale, and now tenanted by Robert Kelsey. This house stands only a few yards north of the road leading to the "River Head." It is confessedly built on the stratum, which is about a foot and a half below the surface of the land, and can be traced, in a northerly direction, through three fields of this farm, by the different growth of the crops. It has, likewise, been repeatedly cut through on the forming of under-drains by the present occupier.

At the end of Kelsey's land the slight ridge points still northerly to the Mile House on the Holme Road, west of Market Weighton. I cannot learn that it has been traced through the intervening fields; but at the Mile House (on the opposite side of the road) is some appearance of a ridge, pointing in the direction of Thorpe-in-the-Street.

About half a quarter of a mile, or not so much, east of the line between Robert Kelsey's house and the Mile House, is a field on the "Clark Lane," west of Market Leighton, known by the name of the Stockington Keld Close. Here, of course, is a spring, now covered over; and in one part of this close several Roman coins have been found. I gathered up bits of scoria of iron, and small fragments of common brown urns or cups, on this land, in March, 1852. It may be well to add that a close to the east of Brough is proverbially

fertile in Roman coins. I never heard of any valuable coins found there. Those found at Weighton are chiefly of the Lower Empire.

The DREWTON discovery has yet to be connected with the ridge on which Robert KELSEY'S farmhouse is built, and even with "the Roman Riggs" on Houghton Moor; no easy matter through inclosures which have been long under the ploughshare. I shall merely observe that the line is sufficiently direct, and that tradition favours this lower route to DERVENTIO (Stamford Bridge), and so on to York, rather than the higher line conjectured by Drake in his "Eboracum." It is possible that may have been a vicinal way, pointing to Malton, and joining an iter from Eboracum to the German Ocean.

In conclusion, let it be borne in memory that the grand iter from Eboracum to Lindum proceeded by the stations of Legeolium, Danum, and Agelocum: very fine remains of which road used to be evident for some distance to the north of Robin Hood's Well, on the old great north road. It is possible, therefore, that the iter between York and the Humber might be little more than a trackway, improved and adapted for military use. Still, there are evident traces of Roman occupation through this neighbourhood.

E. W. S.

[1853, *Part II.*, p. 165.]

I have seen the small portion of road which Drake considered to be Roman, and which was again brought to light on the drying up of the large sheet of water in Londesborough Park, and had its direction pointed out at the time by an old member of the Knowlton family, who remembered its discovery when he was a boy. Not more than two years since, I believe, this road was traced by an intelligent member of the Ordnance Survey to Huggate; where he supposed he discovered a Roman camp, and where he obtained possession of some relics found at that village which were certainly Roman.

E. W. S.

[1853, *Part II.*, pp. 269-270.]

In your August number, p. 165, I find a communication on the subject of Goodmanham and Londesborough, in which your correspondent, E. W. S. refers to the Roman road noticed by the author of "Eboracum," as having been discovered in Londesborough Park which road, he says, was traced not more than two years since to Huggate, where a Roman camp was supposed to be discovered, and where some relics were found which were certainly Roman. As I am the person who traced the course of the road referred to by E. W. S., I request your permission to correct an important error in his statement, which is calculated to mislead those who may be disposed to investigate the long-disputed question as to the site of Delgovitia.

If your correspondent will refer to Professor Phillips's new work
VOL. VII., PART II.

on "The Rivers, Mountains, etc., of Yorkshire," he will there find it correctly stated, in p. 281, that *Warter* (not Huggate) is the name of the village to which the road was traced, and where I obtained numerous Roman coins, bronze keys, fibulæ, etc. They were found by labourers when working in the fields and gardens near the village, similar coins having frequently been found previously, but supposing them to be "old farthings" they were not preserved, and it is a singular coincidence that some of the coins were found in a field which in the inclosure award is named "Farthing Green," but which name is now obsolete.

With reference to the Roman camp, I am not aware of anything of the kind at Huggate, neither am I prepared to say that I discovered one at Warter, though the ground about the church would suit well enough for a Roman station, and there is certainly traceable a large rectangular space surrounded by a slight rampart, within which is a very strong spring. This was the site of a priory, which may have been built on the site of a Roman station; but unless proved by excavations being made through it, I do not think it would be safe to pronounce it a Roman camp, although if this were Delgovitia I believe the numerals of Antonine's Itinerary would agree remarkably well. Warter, though now a small country village, was unquestionably a place of importance in the twelfth century, having a priory and fairs to which the burgesses and commonalty of Beverley resorted. In ancient documents the name is written *Wartre*, derived probably from the British word *trê* or *tref*, a town.

My attention was first directed to Warter by an old map of Roman remains made for Lord Burlington in 1744, and now deposited in the British Museum, upon which a Roman road is shown pointing from Warter in the direction of Londesborough Park, and in an opposite direction to Garrowby Hill, where it joins Garrowby Street. Finding this map to be accurate in the intrenchments, tumuli, etc., delineated upon it, there was reason to suppose it equally accurate in the Roman roads, which must have been more easily traced then—before the lands were inclosed—than they can be now; but there are still traditions handed down, which, together with slight remains, prove the accuracy of the old map. An aged man named Wilson, residing at Warter, saw the road before the inclosure, and Thomas Ogram, of Millington, informed me that his grandfather, who lived to a great age, used to speak of it as "The great packhorse road," and described its course from Garrowby Street by Warter and Londesborough Park to Brough.

The historian of York, after describing the paved road found in Londesborough Park, adds: "The curiosity of finding such a road in such an uncommon place led my correspondent to trace it on both sides of the canal up the hills; and he can now, he says, show it at any time with spades, one way pointing directly to the aforesaid

Humber Street, the other up the park again through that part called the lawn, butting up against hedges, trees, etc., clear to the Wolds, where it pointed to Warter or Nunburnham, but which he had not then leisure to trace, the Malton and York road lying that way."

Drake again refers to this road in a communication to the Royal Society in 1747 (*Phil. Trans.*, No. 483) thus: "Thence the road leads directly to Londesburg, the place I once thought the station sought for; it passes through Lord Burlington's Park, where more of it was laid open last year than I had before seen." It appears that this road was again exposed in 1823; my informant, a retired farmer residing in the village of Londesborough, accompanied me to the place where he saw it, and pointed out the direction it took, which corresponded with Drake's description.

Having traced the course of this road from Roman Close near Market Weighton along the road still called Humber Street, through the fields to the west of Goodmanham, where the ridge is well defined, and along the west side of Street Closes, where for a short distance it follows the line of a field road called West Street, and so on to Londesborough Park, I then followed the course indicated by Drake towards Warter, and found the ridge formerly called "Galloping Balk," having now a long straight fence upon it, at the northern extremity of which the track is lost in a plantation, but following the course pointed out to me as that of the Galloping Balk, I found the ridge near a tumulus and traced it to the east side of Merebalk Plantation, near which, a short time before, some skeletons, beads, fibulæ, silver rings, and other personal ornaments, apparently Anglo-Saxon, were found by a farmer of Nunburnholme in quarrying chalk. From this point to Warter all trace of the road is lost, but the old men in Warter remember it passing this way, as before stated. In tracing the course of the road northward, the accuracy of the old map was confirmed by similar evidence, as well as by remains in the few places which escaped the destructive action of the plough. The point where it crossed the intrenchment to the north of Cold Wold is distinctly marked.

If we look upon this road without reference to Delgovitia, and merely as a road from York to the Humber, it may appear circuitous; but Delgovitia was probably a military station, and not in a direct line between Eboracum and Prætorium. The road, too, being for military purposes, a commanding position such as that skirting the Wolds would be preferred to a more direct line across the vale, which was probably found by the Romans either a morass, or a thick wood; though a direct road from York to the Humber may subsequently have been constructed as a public way, which would make the distance much shorter than it is given in the *Itinerary*.

HENRY STILL.

DURNOVARIA.

[1848, *Part I.*, pp. 143-144.]

Durnovaria is a station of the 15th Iter of Antoninus, and of the 16th Iter of Richard of Cirencester, and it lay on the way from Old Sarum to Exeter, and has been invariably, I believe, presumed to mean Dorchester; but, in order to make it answer to that place, the numerals affixed to it, namely, 9, showing its distance from the preceding station of Venteglada or Vindocladia, have been violently altered to 30. The fact is, that commentators have erred much, in my opinion, in locating these stations. Durnovaria was not at Dorchester, but at Sherborne; and Vindocladia was at Shaftesbury, as I confidently think. By thus interpreting these Iters you have a direct road, and the numbers in the Itineraries will then be found to be correct, both of which precisely accord.

Dorchester was not upon the line of any Roman Iter, as we have them; but was the Durnium, Dunium, or Durinum of Ptolemy and of Richard, and the metropolis of the Durotriges, or Morini; and it was a stipendiary city of the Romans. Camden himself confounded this latter place with Durnovaria, and supposed Ptolemy was in error in not calling it so, whereas Durinum and Durnovaria were, as has been shown, two distinct places; the former, now known as Dorchester, was in the Roman times, as it still remains, the chief town of that part of the country; but it does not appear in either Itinerary, a circumstance not at all derogatory to its antiquity or importance, as unquestionably this town, in the Roman times, was a place of more than ordinary consequence.

My interpretation of the 15th Iter of Antoninus is as follows:—

From at or near Reading to Exeter,—

	MILES.
Odiham	15
Winchester	21
Near Broughton	11
Old Sarum	8
Shaftesbury	12
Sherborne	9
Honiton	36
Exeter	15

I subjoin the Latin text as I find it in Gibson's edition of the "Britannia":

"Iter xv. A Calleva Isca Dumnnuniorum, m.p. cxxxvi. sic:

Vindomi, m.p. xv.

Venta Belgarum, m.p. xxi

Brige, m.p. xi.

Sorbiodoni, m.p. viii.

Vindocladia, m.p. xii.
 Durnovaria, m.p. ix.
 Moriduno, m.p. xxxvi.*
 Isca Dumnniorum, m.p. xv."

J. P.

MORIDUNUM.

[1849, *Part I.*, pp. 137-146.]

A controversy of many years' duration has been pending amongst those antiquaries who have written on the subject of the disputed site of Moridunum. It ought to be found on the south coast of Devonshire, at a spot situated at the distance of thirty-six Roman miles from Dorchester, and fifteen from Exeter. The classic reader and the historian are aware that at the time of the Romans Britain was traversed in various directions by four great roads, named respectively, Erming (*sic*) Street, Watling Street, Ikenild Street, and The Foss-way; and that from these principal lines of communication numerous vicinal or lesser ways branched off. In order that we may not swell our subject with irrelevant matter, we will endeavour to confine our remarks to that portion of south-east Devon which lies between Dorchester on the east and Exeter on the west. When Cæsar first landed on our shores he found the native tribes in the practice of certain modes of intrenching and fortifying their positions, resembling, in a great degree, the modes in use two hundred years ago among the Indians of North America,† and in the present day by the savage inhabitants of New Zealand. This species of fortification consisted of earthworks thrown up around their camps, and still further strengthened in some places by stockades or fences. "The Britons call a town," says Cæsar in his "Commentaries,"‡ "a wood inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retreat, when they stood in fear of incursions from the borderers." These strongholds, or towns, or stations, or "camps," as they are termed in popular phraseology, were generally situated for greater security in inaccessible places, such as the summits of conical hills. The remains of numerous such stations are found in almost every county in England in the present day. Some of these are circular in form, some oval, some irregular, and some few quadrangular. It is agreed that those of a quadrangular form were made by the Romans; but that the others owe their origin in most cases to the ancient Britons, but in some instances to the Saxons or the Danes. Roman remains have been found in those that are not quadrangular; but this is accounted for from the fact that those conquerors often found it con-

* Richard says 33.

† See Trumbull's "History of Connecticut," and Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts Bay," vol. i.

‡ "The Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, of his Warres in Gallia," etc. Translated into English by Clement Edmonds, Esq., Remembrancer of the City of London, 1655. Lib. v., p. 108.

venient to occupy the stations out of which they had driven the Celtic tribes.

It has been remarked that, besides the four principal roads, the country was traversed by many lesser ones. These were mostly of very early date. They frequently ran over the ridges of the hills, in order to obtain a command of country; and as they visited the numerous hill-fortresses, their course was often circuitous. Many of our modern by-lanes, and bleak roads over our moors and commons, occupy the lines of these ancient British track-ways. The earliest available notice which we possess on the subject of these old channels of communication is in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*. This Antoninus was one of the Roman emperors, either Antoninus Pius, or Antoninus Caracalla. It is now generally allowed to have been the latter, who was one of the sons of Severus. The *Itinerary* is supposed to have been composed either by himself personally, at the time when he was in Britain, or else that it was written under his direction. At all events, its authority is unquestioned. [See Note 39.] In this early topographical work we have a series of journeys laid down in moderately straight lines, crossing the country in different directions, with the ancient names of the various stations along the line, and the number of Roman miles, or mille passuum, between each station.

In the Fifteenth Iter of Antoninus, that portion of fifty-one miles stretching between Durnovaria (Dorchester) and Isca (Exeter) comprises the field of our investigations. It here says, from Durnovaria to Moridunum thirty-six millia passuum, or miles; from Moridunum to Isca fifteen millia passuum. The difficulty has always been to fix the site of Moridunum. At one period the writers on these topics disputed about assigning the true position of Isca, though it is now hard to conceive how a difficulty on this point should have arisen. This has long been satisfactorily settled; but the more difficult question of assigning a place to Moridunum has been found to present evidence so conflicting as to have baffled the researches of the most industrious inquirers. This station, as quoted above, in the Fifteenth Iter, was thirty-six miles from Dorchester, and fifteen from Exeter.

In the Twelfth Iter of Antoninus, one portion of the route traverses the same line; and it is here also laid down—from Durnovaria to Moridunum thirty-six miles; from Moridunum to Isca fifteen. This agreement of figures is valuable in a dispute, as we have before us the testimony of two witnesses. But this is not all. If we refer to the *Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester*, we see that one of his Iters likewise traverses the same track. Moreover, the distances are here the same, namely, from Durnovaria to Moridunum thirty-six miles; from Moridunum to Isca fifteen. Thus we have the evidence of three witnesses, all speaking to the same point, and all agreeing with each other. I have a reason for laying stress upon this. Modern

antiquaries, in failing to discover a satisfactory place for Moridunum, have declared that both Antoninus and Richard must be wrong in their numbers. But to declare that others are wrong because they cannot make themselves right is a new way of settling a vexed question, and scarcely a fair one. Doubtless the early transcribers committed many and grave errors in some parts of these Itineraries, but I maintain that no error has been committed in the route between Durnovaria, or Dorchester, and Isca, or Exeter. It has been asserted that there must be a "lost station," because none of the known hill fortresses agreed with the distances laid down.* As I have a hill fortress in reserve, I will show presently that there was more truth in this idea than might have been suspected. The town of Seaton, on the river Axe, has generally been conjectured to occupy the site of the disputed station, not for any convincing reason whatever, but because, first, no other place on the coast could be at all pointed out; and, secondly, because "Mor-y-dun" in British, Latinized to Moridunum, and Seaton, or Seatown in Saxon, mean the same thing. Thus, in the old Keltic, *môr* signifies *sea*; *y* pronounced *e*, the article *the* placed after its noun, as it is among the Welsh in the present day, and *dun*, in Welsh *din* and *dinas*, a hill-fortress or stronghold, together make the Sea Hill town, or town upon a hill by the sea coast. The name of the town at the mouth of the Axe, Seaton, is certainly a very literal Saxonization of "Mor-y-dun;" but this argues nothing, inasmuch as any town on the coast might with equal propriety bear the same name. "Dr. Gale," says Mr. Davidson, in his "History of Axminster," "attributes the distinction to Seaton from one circumstance alone, in which, though misinformed, he has been implicitly copied by many subsequent writers. His words are these: 'Mor, Britannis, est Mare; et super Collem (Dunum) juxta mare eminet hoc oppidum; unde et nomen ei tam antiquum, quam hodiernum, Seaton.'"† Davidson, page 52, adds in a note: "This reasoning would apply quite as forcibly to a hamlet called Seatown, on the coast of Dorset, which is within a mile of the Roman military way." *Dun, din, dinas*, in the Keltic dialects is, I believe, universally acknowledged to signify a *hill* fortress; and in commenting on the derivation of Moridunum, as applied to Seaton, the same author remarks: "This village [Seaton], on the contrary, is seated entirely in a valley, and its distance, both from Dorchester and Exeter, disagrees widely with the Itineraries." In speaking of the modern names of the stations laid down in the Iters of Antoninus and Richard of Cirencester, at page 51, Davidson writes: "The modern names are here affixed on the authority of Dr. Gale, supported by Dr. Stukeley, and most of the subsequent writers;

* "Sylva Antiqua Iscana."

† "The British and Roman Remains in the Vicinity of Axminster, in the County of Devon." By James Davidson. 8vo., 1833, p. 51.

but doubts have been more recently entertained of the propriety of the positions given to two of these stations, viz., Vindogladia [Wimborn] and Moridunum. The successful researches of the eminent individual [Sir R. C. Hoare] whose work has been so often referred to, and who has done more for the illustration of British and Roman antiquities in this island than any other writer, have induced him to fix the site of the former at Gussage instead of Wimborn. Moridunum has been appropriated to Seaton; but there is abundant reason to agree with some later writers in placing this station at or near Hembury Fort. If Seaton be Moridunum, and the Ikenild Way passed through Axminster, as all the writers agree, a road must have struck off to that place at right angles with its course, which has never been discovered, and is quite opposed to the general direction of Roman military roads. A Roman road, which was in its origin a branch of the British Ikenild, leads, as we shall find, along the coast about a mile from Seaton; but it is devious and narrow, on part of its line, and carries with it no pretensions to a military way." Again, he says: "According to Horsley on Ptolemy's 'Geography of Britain,' the river 'Alaenus' seems to be the Axe, and 'Alaeni Ostia' Axmouth.* Much has been said on the claims of Seaton to the distinction of a Roman station; but no remains are recorded to have been found there, neither does any military way lead to it. As a place of trade it, as well as Axmouth, was probably known to the Romans. Tradition still retains in memory the flourishing state of both these now inconsiderable places; and there can be no doubt that at a former period the harbour at the mouth of the Axe was of much greater importance than at present. This is evidenced by the remains of shipping which have been discovered far above the present high-water mark.† Leland, who wrote in the time of Henry VIII., represents Axe Bridge as impassable at high tides. He describes Seaton 'but a mere thing, inhabited by fisher men;' but adds, 'it hath been far larger when the haven was good.'‡ And this is proved by the fact that, in the reign of Edward III., A.D. 1347, when Poole and Lyme furnished four ships to the royal navy, Seaton was able to provide two vessels with twenty-five men.§ Some attempts were made to form a harbour here in the reign of Henry VI.; for Bishop Lacy, as appears by his register in the archives at Exeter, on the 21st of September, 1450, gained forty days' indulgence to true penitents who should contribute to the works 'in novo portu in littore maris apud Seaton.' Camden mentions that anchors have been found as high up the river as Axminster; but that fact does not prove, as Dr. Stukeley seems to infer, that the sea once flowed to

* "Britannia Romana," by Horsley, p. 264.

† Gough's Camden, and Stukeley, *Iter vi.*

‡ Leland's "Itinerary," v. iii., p. 71, apud Davidson, p. 62, note.

§ *Ibid.*, and Hutchins's "Hist. of Dorset," Int., p. lviii.

so great a distance up the valley ; for it is ascertained that, in earlier ages, the forges were in the forests, and that iron ore was brought by the manufacturers to the woods, which they had bought for the purpose of working it up, as well into anchors as other utensils.*

Speaking of "Morwood's Causeway," a piece of Roman road about a quarter of a mile in length, running nearly north and south over Little Down, near Up-Ottery, he says, page 72 : "The title given to this causeway is supposed to have indicated its direction to Moridunum, and, as it formed part of a road which led from Taunton to Seaton, it has been used to establish the claims of the latter place to that distinction : but the fact is, that this road subsequently branched off both towards Seaton and to Hembury Fort, and its principal line was undoubtedly to the latter place." Certainly, I must add, the mere fact that Mor-wood and Mor-idunum both begin with *Mor*, does not establish much. The Bishop of Cloyne † in his observations on this piece of road says : "The idea of Dr. Mason, that a road bearing to Seaton from Somersetshire is called Morwood's Causeway (*quasi via ad Moridunum*), is too hypothetical for us to adopt." The evidence thus afforded by etymology cannot be looked upon as conclusive ; but let us see what argument in favour of Seaton can be collected from geographical evidence.

The Bishop of Cloyne, in his "Dissertation on the British and Roman Roads and Stations," before alluded to, observes,‡ "Soon after the Ikenild Street enters the east borders of Devonshire, it is crossed or joined by a very distinguished Roman road, the Fosse, in its way from Ischalis to Moridunum. Which of these is most proper to be used, is indeed a matter of doubt ; for the latter road is so obscure in this part of its course, and the site of Moridunum so difficult to determine, that our best antiquaries have doubts upon the subject ; and according as they are led to fix this station at Hembury or Seaton, suppose the Fosse to fall into the Ikenild near the first, or to cross it in its way to the second."

And again,§ "It seems," continues the Bishop, "indeed to be allowed, that the distances west of Old Sarum, both in Antonine and Richard, (the latter having probably copied from the former), are very inaccurate. This, however, by no means affects the situation of Exeter (about which there was once a doubt) which answers to the distance of Isca from Durnovaria, viz., fifty-one miles in Antonine and fifty-three measured ; and wherever in this interval we choose to fix Moridunum (respecting which the numbers are certainly erroneous

* Davidson, p. 63, and "Encyc. Antiq." p. 277.

† See the article on the "British and Roman Roads through Devonshire," contributed by the Bishop of Cloyne to Lyson's "Magna Britannia," vol. vi. p. 320. London, Cadell, 1822.

‡ Lysons, *ubi supra*, p. cccxii.

§ *Ibid.*, p. cccxviii.

[?]) it has nothing to do with the present inquiry (the true site of Isca). Exeter, therefore, from its antiquities, and roads conducting to it, must be allowed to be a Roman town, and from its near agreement with the Itinerary distance, must certainly have been Isca Damnoniorum." Further on in the same page he writes: "But whatever obstacles may have impeded our antiquaries in determining till lately the situation of Isca, they are trifles compared to the difficulties which still attend our researches on that of Moridunum. This place has been fixed by different respectable authorities at Eggardon, Hembury, and Seaton. Horsley contends for the first of these, in opposition to the numbers in the Itineraries, which, in the western parts, are supposed to be corrupted; besides, however, his disagreement with Antonine (who, in two different Iters, asserts Moridunum to be thirty-six miles from Dorchester and fifteen from Exeter, when Eggardon is only *nine* [!]) from the first of these towns, and forty-one from the second) it is to be observed, that the camp at Eggardon is irregular, with no antiquities of any kind found in or near it, looking more like a British than a Roman fortress, and more likely to be the Dunium of Ptolemy (which that geographer places among the Durotriges) than the Moridunum of the Itineraries, if Maiden Castle, near Dorchester, had not still better pretensions to the name of Dunium than either. Hembury has a fairer claim to be considered as Moridunum." And the Bishop then remarks that it agrees with the Iters, and some remains have been found there. In page cccix. he sums up by saying, "Seaton is supposed to have been Moridunum by Camden, Musgrave, and Stukeley." And after a further consideration he adds, "I am, therefore, on the whole, inclined, though not without some hesitation, to adopt the opinion of Camden on the subject."

In all this vague speculation (for it is nothing else) the reader will not fail to perceive the maze of incertitude into which these grave writers have waded. Some heedlessly charge others with error because they cannot make themselves right; some are too confident and dogmatical, whilst others express themselves with a diffidence which must at all events claim our respect.

Dr. Musgrave infers that Antoninus and Richard are wrong, and fixes the disputed station at Seaton. Camden says,* "I should suppose, both from distance and etymology, that Seaton was the Moridunum of Antoninus, which he (Antoninus) places between Durnovaria and Isca, if there be no error in the copies, which is called by contraction Ridunum in Peutinger's tables: Moridunum signifying in Britain, as Seaton in England, a town on a hill by the sea." But Seaton, as before remarked, is in a valley, and not on a hill, and is ten miles too far east. Hembury Fort is a strong camp, at the distance of about fifteen miles from Exeter, and hence it has been pointed out as likely to have been Moridunum; unfortunately

* Gough's Camden, vol. i., p. 37.

for its advocates, Hembury Fort, instead of being on the sea coast, as required, is ten miles inland. Dumpdon is another hill fortress at about the same distance from the sea, and also near Honiton as well as Hembury Fort; and Sidbury Castle is a large camp at the distance of two miles and a half from the coast at Sidmouth. Each of these has been subject to much speculation. That the remains of an ancient fortress were to be found on the summit of High Peak Hill, two miles south-west from Sidmouth, and actually on the coast, appears never to have been suspected. I am anxious to draw particular attention to this spot, as I think that the discovery of a station here will serve to clear up many perplexities that have impeded the investigations of the curious, and also go far to prove the correctness of the Itineraries of Antoninus and of Richard of Cirencester, despite the charges of error which have been brought against them. I shall come to this immediately.

But some of those who advocate the claims of Hembury Fort have tried to contort the etymology to suit their purpose. Thus, we are told that "the Gaelic Mor, Dun, equally answers to the hill of the moor, as to that of the sea, or Seaton."* This rendering, however, appears so constrained as to need no effort at its refutation. Gough, in his edition of Camden,† remarks, "Stukeley, Salmon, and Borlase agree with Camden in placing Moxidunum here (at Seaton). Baxter puts it at Topsham [!] on account of distance. (Topsham is only *four* miles from Exeter!) Horsley at Eggerton Hill, Dorset (*nine* miles from Dorchester, instead of thirty-six!), Aggerdun and Moxidunum meaning the castle or raised work on the hill." This quotation indeed shows us to what extraordinary lengths these respectable and abstruse authors have gone, and the strange hazards they have made in trying to find a resting-place for this itinerant station; but the latest handler of this subject meets the difficulty in a new way. "I think," says he, "there were *two* Môr-y-duns or Moxiduna."‡ I am not aware whether this idea will set the question at rest.

Perhaps I need not pursue the evidence further. I could, without difficulty, refer to many more learned writers, and quote largely from them; but as their evidence would be but circumstantial, and would not elicit anything more conclusive than what I have already adduced, and as I am desirous of not being too prolix where I feel myself limited for space, I shall rather turn to the next division of my task.

And first of all let me call particular attention to the fact that none

* "Collectanea Curiosa Antiqua Dunmonia," p. 96, note. By W. T. P. Shortt. I could refer to the two works of this author with much more confidence had they been drawn up with the gravity which becomes the subject. They have been compiled in such a careless, rambling, and ill-arranged manner, and are so full of haphazard assertions, that I lament extremely that I cannot quote them as authorities.

† Gough in Camden, vol. i., p. 59.

‡ "Collectanea Curiosa Antiqua Dunmonia," p. 95.

of these writers, nor any other writers that I am acquainted with, in their endeavours to investigate the site of Moridunum, anywhere allude, even in the most distant way, to the existence of an ancient fortress on High Peak Hill, near Sidmouth. I claim to be the discoverer of this hill-fortress. It is about seven years ago that I made the discovery one day when rambling over the hill, though I had rambled over it times without number before, without having remarked that the ridges of earth maintained any regular forms. Not long after this I communicated the fact to *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, and the article appeared in that paper on Saturday, November 20th, 1841. I am not aware that the remains of this fortress had been alluded to by any person before, either in print or otherwise. On referring to the map, it will be seen that the locality is at the required distance both from Dorchester on the one hand, and from Exeter on the other. It also meets the requirements of the etymology—it is a mor-y-dun, a fortress on a hill by the sea. The waves wash its base, and it rises perpendicularly from the water. The mean of several observations taken on the sands at low water by the Rev. N. S. Heineken and Dr. Radford, M.D., of Sidmouth, give us 511 feet as the perpendicular height of the hill. It approaches to the conical form, inaccessible on the sea side, and difficult of ascent from the side towards the land, owing to its steepness; and hence its elevation, its conformation, and its promontorial position, all warrant us in concluding that it was a place of considerable strength and importance. Perhaps it may seem strange that this hill should so entirely have escaped the researches of the many assiduous authors who have given their attention to local antiquities. The hill itself cannot escape notice; it is the works on its summit that have lain unthought of. The fact is sufficiently explained when I observe that it is altogether out of the way of any thoroughfare. Its position is isolated, and there is not a public road of any size or traffic that passes within miles of it. But the chief reason that has caused it to have been so entirely disregarded is, that the greater part of the earthworks and entrenchments that crown its apex have fallen into the sea; segments only on the land side remain. Had the works been more perfect they would probably have been discerned at a distance. But I am told that they are sufficiently clear now that I have pointed them out. The geological structure of this part of Devonshire will easily account for the loss by abrasion which the hill and the whole coast has sustained. The upper members of the new red sandstone formation run through this district. The Sidmouth hills are all, on an average, about 500 feet in height, and the lower two-thirds or three-fifths of this is composed of the red marl. The upper two-fifths is a stratum of green sand. This is capped by a bed of flints and yellow plastic clay, being the imperfect traces of the chalk and earlier formations abounding further eastward.

The whole substance of these hills is extremely loose and friable, so that the action of rain or frost, succeeded by a change of weather, causes the sea-faces of the cliffs continually to fall away, sometimes hundreds of tons coming down at a time. I have myself seen immense quantities thunder down to the beach after a change of weather. There are traditions in Sidmouth to the effect that, within the memory of man, or of the fathers of persons now living, a field or fields used to exist over that part of the coast immediately westward of the town, where the reef of rocks, known as the Chit Rocks, now runs out into the sea. It is declared that a piece of waste ground there was used to beat carpets on, and that vegetables were cultivated on other parts of that promontory where the waves now roll. It is generally understood that so long a point of land projected into the sea over the Chit Rocks as to form a deep and sheltered bay opposite the town. Two miles west along the coast, and lying off the extremity of High Peak Hill in the sea, are two detached rocks; the largest, which is nearest to the hill, may be about 100 feet high. It is known by the name of Picket Rock, *quasi* Peak-ed Rock, as it should seem. There is no question but that within the historical period the hill itself extended outwards to this distance, so as to embody these now isolated rocks within itself. At that time the summit of the hill was sufficiently capacious to allow of the perfect formation of the entrenchments. Nothing now remains except a curved portion of one of the principal aggers on the land side, and the traces of some others towards the eastern verge of the cone. The length of the principal work is above 250 feet. It is thrown up with great boldness, and at its most perfect part it measures 50 feet on the slope. The fosse on the outside is nearly filled up, so as to have the look of a level terrace encircling that portion of the hill which has not fallen away. Near the south-western end of this terrace there is a sunken accumulation of stones presenting the appearance of a tumulus. At the north-eastern extremity of the earthworks there are, as just observed, traces of other aggers outside the large one, thrown up as if to strengthen that particular part. It is here that High Peak Hill approaches to Peak Hill, and it is here that the grand entrance to the fortress seems to have existed. This is not said without reflection. Owing to the falling away of the cliff, these hills are more separated now than they were formerly. The dip or chasm between them is wider now than during the British and Saxon periods. I am disposed to think that the hollow between them did not descend lower, or much lower, than the line of junction between the red marl and the green sand. The dip is now considerably below this, and the edge of the cliff has much receded from the sea as it has fallen away. This infers that High Peak Hill is more insulated at present than it used to be. I am led to this opinion, first, from the geological nature of the

soil; secondly, from the geographical features of the country; thirdly, from the known action of the sea and the elements on the cliffs in this neighbourhood; and, fourthly, from the pointing of an old road traversing this district. This road, which bears marks of great antiquity, seems to have been a line of communication from the camp on Sidbury Castle Hill to the station on High Peak Hill, and may have been either the Ikenild, or a branch of the Ikenild. It appears to come from the inland end, in the neighbourhood of Bulverton Hill, and as it approaches the cliff it takes a turn from the south to the south-west, and then points directly towards the fortress on High Peak. But it abuts out upon the edge of the precipice, and is lost. About 1,400 feet of its length have fallen into the sea; but on the other side of the chasm, at the foot of the upper cone of High Peak, we discover the other end of it where it comes in. From this point it continues in a westerly course to the village of Otterton, and there crossing the river Otter it probably visited the camp on Woodbury Hill, and then passed on to Exeter. There are the remains of a branch on the south-western side of the upper portion of High Peak Hill, uniting with it, leading us to the conclusion that there was an entrance to the fortress on that side also. As the acclivities of this hill are not so abrupt on the eastern or Peak Hill side, or, at all events, they were not originally so abrupt as on the others, it is likely that the position was not considered so impregnable in that locality. It is seemingly for this reason that the outer aggers already mentioned were added. But the fact that one of the entrances existed there may still further account for the repeated earthworks. Besides the commencement of two aggers outside, and concentric with the principal one, there is another ridge beyond them, but which, instead of being parallel, starts away from them and from the centre of the fortress, after the manner of a radius, whilst the intrenchments run as circumferents. This additional work appears to have flanked the entrance, or encircled an outer enclosure.

During the past summer of 1848 I have made frequent and repeated visits to the hill for the purpose of thoroughly examining it, and I have made a survey of the district lying around it. Thus I spent the greater part of the day upon it on September the 13th, 16th, and 28th; October the 6th, 10th, 12th, etc. On the 13th of September I made a discovery that gave me great pleasure. It was the discovery of two strata of charcoal, the remains of what probably had been signal fires, kindled for the purpose of giving intelligence to some of the neighbouring camps. That they were signal fires, and not fires solely used for culinary purposes, I infer from the fact that they were made on the right ridge of the great agger, in an exposed situation. Both strata are near the north-eastern end of the intrenchments. The most easterly stratum is easily got at and examined.

The pieces of charcoal which I dug out had a straight grain like fir: they reddened easily when held in the flame of a candle. On the 28th of September I managed to reach the other stratum, which I had before been unable to do. Its edge is laid bare, and it shows a black horizontal line in the sea perpendicular face of the cliff, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the summit. By lying flat on the grass, and stretching my arm out over, I contrived to pull out a piece of charcoal as large as an egg with my fingers' ends. The grain of this is tortuous, and resembles knotted oak. It should seem that these fires had been lighted on the ridge of the agger, and that, at a subsequent period, the fortifications had been strengthened and heightened by heaping more earth upon them, and thus burying the ashes and charcoal. They have been now exposed to view by the falling away of the cliff. It is worthy of remark, too, that one of these strata (that near Sidmouth) is only about a foot below the surface, whereas the other, a few yards from it, is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet beneath the turf. This tells us that the fires were not buried at the same time, but that the deepest was buried first; that an interval of time had elapsed; that the fortress was still inhabited; that the fortifications were again repaired; and that then the remains of the other fire were buried. When I first broached my conviction that an ancient station had existed on this hill, I was met by some scepticism; but I think that the recent discovery of these beds of charcoal goes far to prove the correctness of my assertions.

Sidbury Castle Hill, two miles and a half north of Sidmouth, is crowned by an ancient camp. This station never seems to have received the consideration which is due to it. I surveyed the top of it on the 21st of last September, and found it of larger size than I had been led to expect. Mr. Short* devotes only two lines to it, and those contain two errors. "The camp of Sidbury Hill," says he, "is a small work, consisting of a single embankment and ditch, on the summit of a conical eminence, one flank of which is covered with wood." The first error is, to say that it is a small work, for, by the test of comparison, it is a large one. The second error is, to say that it has but a single embankment, for it has two, with a ditch between them. It is larger than either of the camps at Stoke Hill, Cotleigh Hill, Preston Berry, Cadbury, Blackberry (*sic*) Castle, or Hembury Fort, the measurements of which he gives. He speaks of "the magnificent Hembury Fort," that "great and mighty circumvallation," the length and breadth of which in feet are $1,110 \times 300$.† The length and breadth of the interior area of the camp on Sidbury Castle Hill are $1,440 \times 430$. But there is one fact that warrants us in thinking that this station was one of permanent occupation. It is this—that, in spite of its being partly detached and isolated, and

* "Sylva Antiqua Iscana," Prelim. Diss., p. 22.

† "Collectanea Curiosa Antiqua Dunmonia," p. 94.

about the height of the hills on each side of Sidmouth, there are two perennial springs of clear water that rise on its summit. These supply two ponds that are rarely known to fail, even in seasons of the longest drought. It may be remarked, too, that when a well was dug in 1844 at a farm called Whitehouse, lying in the valley nearly 400 feet below, they had to descend 70 feet before they could find water. The principal entrance to this camp seems to have been at its western end. From this point three ancient British trackways branched off; one to Sidbury, and over the hills in an easterly direction towards Blackbury (*sic*) Castle, a distance of four miles; one in a southerly course, two miles and a half to the old harbour of Sidmouth; and the third, taking a south-westerly line on the high land, appears to have visited Beacon Hill—then swept across the valley to Bulverton Hill—and, after that, gone along the whole length of Peak Hill to the cliff. At this point it has been before mentioned as going to High Peak, Otterton, etc. This road, I am disposed to think, was either the Ikenild Street or a branch of it. Dr. Musgrave speaks of the Ikenild as running “per Sidmouth et Woodbury ad Clist St. George.” But there is another road which must not be forgotten whilst we are on the subject of roads. It descends Trow Hill, passes through Sidford, and then goes to Stowford Gate and Exeter. I am not sure whether this line has not a better claim to be laid down as the true Ikenild than any other road I know. That portion of it between Sidford and Stowford Gate is called “High Street.” “Street, being a Saxon word,” says Mr. S. R. Clerke, “evidently derived from the Latin ‘Stratum,’ we are warranted to conclude that towns designated by such names as Stratford, Stratten, Stratfield, occurring so very frequently in the topography of England, lay in the direction of these military roads.”* There is little hazard in concluding that this road is of ancient date, and that it was used by the Romans.

Tradition and our earlier historians both agree in stating that a capacious harbour at one time existed at the mouth of the river Sid, although no vestiges of it remain at present. “From the mouth of the ottery [otter], the broken shore,” says Camden,† “runs out to the east by Budley [Budleigh Salterton], Sidmouth, and Seaton, anciently noble harbours, now so choked up by the sea as to have in a manner lost all use.” “Sidmouth, a fischar town,” observes Leland,‡ “with a broke of that name, and a bay six miles west of Seaton.” For this “noble harbour” and this “bay” at the mouth of the Sid we now look in vain.

* “Vestigia Anglicana; or, Illustrations of the More Interesting and Debateable Points in the History and Antiquities of England,” etc., by Stephen Reynolds Clerke, 2 vols., 1826. Vol. i., p. 49.

† Gough's Camden, vol. i., p. 37.

‡ Leland, Lib. iii. 41, apud Camden, i., p. 59.

By a reference to the accompanying map, it will be seen that, in addition to the present coast line, I have outside it drawn the probable ancient coast line, as it existed during the British and Saxon period. It has not been drawn without consideration. Where it projects furthest into the sea there are still found sunken reefs of rocks which indicate the former place of the land now lost. The Picket Rocks warrant us in assigning the course of the line to sweep so far out as to include them. With regard to Sidmouth itself, I am disposed to think that the whole of the eastern part of the town is built upon what was formerly the navigable port, or else swampy land extending along the side of the water. It still retains the name of "The Marsh." By an examination of the level of the ground on which the town stands, we may assume that the line of houses running from the market-place up Old Fore Street and High Street, and out to the Mill, was the line of houses that flanked the shores of the harbour. All east of this line is low and flat, occupying the district of the Marsh; but it will be seen that the level immediately rises from the market-place up Church Street, and also behind all the houses on the western side of these two first-named streets. If, then, we assign this district of the Marsh to the ancient harbour, before it was so filled up, as Camden and Leland remark, and if we extend a promontory of land out over the Chit Rocks into the sea on the west of the town, we shall have the sheltered "bay" noticed by Leland, the greater part of a mile in depth. This bay, where shipping could lie in security, was entirely commanded and looked down upon from the camp on High Peak Hill in one direction, and from that on Sidbury Castle Hill on the other. It was within this harbour, near the present mouth of the Sid, that the bronze Centaur was found in 1841 * [*ante*, p. 46]. It was probably lost there out of one of the ships belonging to Carausius, or else it was washed down from the hills into the water.

Whatever may have been the true position of Moridunum, there is one fact that appears to me certain, and that is, that on High Peak Hill there existed a station of strength and importance which, to the best of my information, has been wholly unknown to antiquaries. I am anxious to call their attention to this spot; and now that I have pointed it out, I hope they will not fail to give it a thorough examination, and carefully review the arguments that have been brought forward on this vexed question, as well by others as by myself. In the accompanying map I have drawn in dotted lines the size and shape the fortress seems originally to have occupied, guided in so doing by the remains that are still to be found there. If I do not state positively and dogmatically my certain belief that this is the true and long-lost Moridunum, at all events I may say I see no reason why it should not be Moridunum. I should be glad to think that I have

* Engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1843, p. 505.

vindicated the correctness of the Itineraries, and cleared both Antoninus and Richard of Cirencester, or their transcribers, from the accusations of error which have been cast against them. Having said this much, I leave the matter for the consideration of those who may take interest in it, earnestly requesting them to investigate the evidence that has been placed before them.

PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON.

ON THE LIMITS OF THE EARLIEST ROMAN STATION AT LONDON.
[1842, *Part I.*, pp. 267-271.]

After a long interval of silence, these Londinian* notices are resumed.

Referring to the volume of Knight's "London," reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February last, it may be remarked that no attempt has been made by the editors of that publication to point out the military circumvallation which was formed at a very early period by the Romans on the site of a portion of the present city.

It is no new observation, that before the advent of the Romans, Britain could not have been altogether in a barbarous state, inhabited by aboriginal savage tribes; on the contrary, as the population was composed of various distinct communities, so these communities differed from each other in their degrees of civilization and intelligence, as circumstances had more or less favoured their acquaintance with the learning of their time. The grand medium of civilization was doubtless then, as now, the intercourse opened by commerce. The Greeks and Phœnicians extended their commercial enterprises beyond the pillars of Hercules, and reached the shores of Britain; nor was there wanting a free communication with the Gaulish tribes inhabiting the districts over against the British shores. The traffic carried on must have been chiefly with the maritime districts of Britain, and the effects of this communication may be gathered from the well-known passage of Cæsar's "Commentaries," which asserts that the inhabitants of Kent were the most polished of all the British tribes. "Ex his omnibus longè sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt, quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallicâ differunt consuetudine."†

The marks of colonization from different Continental sources are very unequivocal, traceable in the very names which the colonists brought with them from Continental districts, as the Belgæ, Segontiaci, Bibroci, Attrebatii, etc. The coins and military weapons of the British tribes assimilated with the Greek with one singular exception, that when legends are to be found on their coins the character employed is commonly Roman. The knowledge of

* See "Londiniana," No. V., in *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1836 [*ante*, pp. 189-196].

† Cæsar de Bello Gallico, Lib. v.

astronomy and of the mechanical powers undoubtedly possessed by the British priesthood, the Druids, shows that the Britains were by no means without guides and instructors before the coming of the Romans; while the military tact which they displayed in opposing the first invasion of Cæsar, proves that they were not altogether deficient in military science; their use of chariots in warfare indicates a classic origin, and assimilates them with the heroes of the Iliad.

There is every reason to suppose that there was a settlement of some importance at London before the coming of the Romans. That name, which it has retained from an unknown period to the present time, through

“change of empire, lapse of age,”

stamps on it a British origin—whether we read it Llyn-dun—the hill fortress on the lake, or Llong dinas, the city of ships, from its maritime character. Although much may be said in favour of a name pointing to the broad expanse of waters—which probably at every returning tide nearly surrounded the British settlement, and washed the bases of the Middlesex, Kentish, and Surrey rising grounds, we incline for the etymology received by the judicious Camden, Llong dinas—simply because the Roman writers distinctly designate it *Londinium*. We will suppose, therefore, a British hill-fort existing at London, most probably on the highest ground of the City about the site of St. Paul's, from a time beyond extant record. It remained as such probably through the periods in which the Roman generals Suetonius Paulinus and Julius Frontinus, by their conquests, confirmed the Roman yoke over subjugated Britain. For Agricola, the general of Vespasian, was reserved the honour at once of improving the communications of the country, by constructing military ways, making fortresses, and of enlisting the humbled Britons in the auxiliaries of his Legions; teaching them the Roman arts of brick-making, building, and constructing roads, etc.* To the time, therefore, of Vespasian may, we think, decidedly be referred the establishment of London as a Roman military station. Now, leaving the antiquarian imaginings of the zealous, learned, and respectable Stukeley to be discussed and combated by recent editors of Londinian topography, we will see how far the discoveries on the construction of the New London Bridge in 1831, noticed by us in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1831, p. 388 [see Note 40], and in “*Archæologia*,” vol. xxiv. together with the more recent remarks (also founded on personal observations) by that ingenious antiquary, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, tend to prove that the period of Vespasian was just the identical period when great works were commenced and effected at Roman London. We shall perhaps be able to define the extent and boundaries of the station of Agricola at London, and to show how

* Tacit. in Vita Agric.

considerably afterwards its limits were enlarged. We will boldly at once, without fear of being associated in antiquarian rank with Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck, of Monkbarns, point out the extent of this early Roman circumvallation at London, and afterwards proceed to state the data on which we have adopted our ground plan.

The Roman station at London, constructed in the time of the prætor Agricola, was, we believe, as usual, a parallelogram, the eastern boundary of which was about the site of Clement's and Miles's Lane.

At Miles's Lane, in 1831, during the progress of the works for the approaches of the bridge, a long piece of Roman wall was visible, running north and south;* and just about where a line drawn through these lanes crossed Eastcheap, was a raised way of gravel supported on either side by walls of Roman construction, sufficiently indicating *the approach to the eastern entrance or Prætorian Gate of the Roman Station*. A section of this highway and these walls will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1833, p. 422 [*ante*, p. 206]. The causeway above mentioned was about 12 feet wide and 5 in depth. On either side of it were found cinerary urns, and fragments of the fine red and black ornamented pottery. Coins of Claudius and Vespasian were turned up on the spot, and the bonding tiles of the lateral walls supporting the highway were of a very rude make, many of them impressed with the feet of animals which had rambled over them from the neighbouring forest, when they lay on the ground yet unbaked. Here then, at Eastcheap, was the principal or Prætorian Gate of the Roman garrison leading into the Roman Forum; the strong foundations mentioned by Mr. Roach Smith, as existing in Bush Lane, Cannon Street,† may well be considered those of the Prætorium itself. Here also Mr. Smith picked up some of those very remarkable fragments of brick, the inscriptions on which appear to designate them as formed under the Proprætor of Britain at London, and which we should have little hesitation in attributing to the prætorship of Agricola.‡

That relic of high traditional antiquity, the London Stone, always considered as pointing to the very heart of the city, was placed in this neighbourhood, and we consider it to have been a pillar set up by the Romans in the centre of the Forum of Agricola's station, the *Gnoma* or *Umbilicus castri Londoniensis*. It was referred to as a local mark of immemorial antiquity in Saxon charters.

The southern boundary of this early circumvallation of the Romans was, if not the Thames itself, a wall running parallel with the river about the present Thames Street. The tradition mentioned by Fitz Stephen of the existence of such a wall, overturned and destroyed by

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1833, p. 69. [See Note 41].

† "Archæologia."

‡ The ancient pit observed by Mr. Smith on the site of the Royal Exchange was, perhaps, the very place from which this gravel was taken.

the tides, is not much to be depended on; but Mr. Roach Smith tells us that in the course of late excavations he saw in the middle of Thames Street the vestiges of a massive wall constructed on piles which made an angle and ran up Lambeth Hill in the direction of the Old Change;* here, then, we have a glimpse of testimony for the western boundary of Agricola's station, drawing a line from Lambeth Hill through the Old Change to Cheapside. As to the site of St. Paul's Churchyard, we may esteem it, as we have hinted, that of the earliest British settlement, and that it is not improbable that the cathedral stands on the ground plot of a Druid temple. The numerous vestiges of interment which have been found at this place, British and Roman, seem to place it decidedly without the earliest Roman circumvallation. The northern boundary of the parallelogram seems readily attainable, and we will consider it as placed a little inwards from the southern side of Cheapside. In rebuilding Bow Church, Sir Christopher Wren tells us† that at the distance of 18 feet from the surface his workmen came to a causeway laid in cement, Roman brick and rubbish, 4 feet thick. He was of opinion, for various reasons, that this highway ran along the northern boundary of the (early) Roman colony, for all beyond it northwards showed vestiges of a great fen or morass. He considered, and we doubt not rightly, that Watling Street was the centre or Prætorian way of the old Roman station: through Eastcheap, Cannon Street, and Watling Street; we therefore with great confidence place in the accompanying diagram the central road of the old Roman camp. It is not a little remarkable that the causeway which Wren considered as forming the northern boundary of the Roman station was again discovered in the more eastern part of its course, in 1785, about the centre of Birchin Lane, Lombard Street. The highway in Lombard Street, like that of so many other streets of modern London, passes over the site of Roman houses. That a great fen really existed northward of Bow Church, according to the observation of Wren, may be confirmed from the assertion of that most accurate and interesting writer on history and Londinian topography, John Stow, who tells us, "that in the year 1090, or the third of William Rufus, by tempest of wind, the roof of the church of St. Mary Bow in Cheap was overturned, wherewith some persons were slain, and four of the rafters of six and twenty foot in length with much violence were pitched in the ground of the High Street, that scanty 4 foot of them remained above ground, which was fain to be cut even with the ground, because they could not be plucked out, for the Citee of London was not then paved, but a moorish ground."*

In another place we remember there is mention of a rustic bridge,

* "*Archæologia*," vol. xxix.

† "*Parentalia*."

‡ It would be curious to know whence Stow derived this story.

formed of trunks of trees, discovered in the middle of Cheapside, and Mr. Smith observed, during excavations at Lothbury, plain indications of a rural homestead of the Roman times on that spot.

As the Roman colony flourished, without the station arose suburban villas, temples, sacella, and family tombs, with all their magnificent decorations of tessellated floors and ornamented stucco walls, of which so many vestiges have from time to time been discovered, and which the sewer works carried on in London streets are daily revealing. In *Londiniana*, No. III., communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1836 [*ante*, p. 193], we observed that, at a very early period of the Roman dominion in Britain, London had spread itself out as a populous open colony, and that any military circumvallation there must have been of comparatively small extent. The Prætorian camp was contained within the limits which we here define, being a parallelogram of about 770 by 500 yards, an admeasurement which closely tallies with the dimensions of a camp for three legions as given by Hyginus, esteemed by some a writer of the Augustan age.

[A plan is here given]. The evidence for this plan is summarily as follows: The north boundary of the Roman garrison was observed by Sir Christopher Wren. The east boundary by the writer of this article in 1831. The west and south by Mr. C. R. Smith—the particulars have been given above.

Mr. Roach Smith has acutely observed that the parts of London in which sepulchral vestiges have been discovered were most probably without the Roman station, because to bury within the City walls was against the law of the twelve tables. The more extended circumvallation which took place probably about the time of Constantine, included, of course, within its area many sepulchral deposits of anterior date. The rule itself, however, was not, we believe, so strict as to be enforced without exception.

We will now pass to the Surrey side of the Thames, observing that we are strongly in favour of that opinion which would place a Roman station on the site of the Borough, formed before the Romans pursued their conquests northward of the Thames, and being a sort of military *tête du pont* for their operations.

A military station seems to be pointed out by the appellation Borough of Southwark, which has been handed down to us by our Saxon ancestors, for *pepc* in the Saxon language, implied *moles*, *munimentum*, *castellum*. The Roman remains which have been found, and which still exist in such profusion, under the surface of the ground in St. Saviour's Churchyard, the High Street, King Street, and near St. George's Church, show that there was undoubtedly a Roman settlement of importance on the site of the Borough; and we may gather from the character of the pavements, of which Mr. George Gwilt has preserved some curious specimens, and the coins, that this settlement had risen into importance at least as early as the reign of

Nero. It has been plausibly suggested that Ptolemy the geographer's placing his *Λονδρινον* in Kent, was owing to the pre eminence in his time of the Roman colony at Southwark, and the limits of Kent being then more extended westward on the banks of the Thames.

Here, then, the Roman generals probably concentrated their forces for the purpose of passing the river, and pushing their conquests northward, in the district of the Trinobantes or Trinovantes, and eastward to the Icenæ. The Trinovantian district was designated by its name as a new settlement, in the British tongue *Tre-newydd*; the monkish writers caught at the sound, and pointed at London the capital of Trinovantia, as *Troja Nova*, New Troy. Southwark was intersected by that great military way, in later days called the Ermine Street, which crossed the Thames, as I observed some years since in a communication* read before the Society of Antiquaries, *by a bridge*, situated not far from the line of Old London Bridge, whether a little eastward or westward I will not pretend to determine, but refer the reader to the ingenious observations of Mr. Charles Roach Smith on that subject in his paper printed in a recent volume of the Society of Antiquaries' Transactions. Many bridges, no doubt, were formed in Roman Britain, when the Romans perfected the communications of the country; they were probably of the military kind described by Vegetius, composed of timber, and admirably constructed to resist the force of water-floods. Such a bridge Cæsar† constructed for crossing the Rhine, and it is described with great particularity in the fourth book of his "Commentaries."‡ The very military reasons which dictated the erection of this bridge were equally applicable to the military trajectus by the Ermine Street from Southwark to the northern shores of the Thames: "Navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque suæ neque populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur, propter latitudinem, rapiditatem, altitudinemque fluminis; tamen id sibi contendendum aut aliter non transducendum exercitum existimabat."

How evident is it by this passage that the Romans in their public works ever sought to make them worthy of the majesty of the empire.

I have some suspicion that the Roman military bridge, crossing the Thames from Southwark, existed down to the period of the Norman dynasty. Under the year 1097 the Saxon Chronicle tells us, "Many shires, moreover, which are bound to duty, in works at London, were greatly oppressed in making the wall around the Tower, *in repairing the bridge which had been almost washed away*, and in building the King's Hall at Westminster—these hardships fell upon many" [see Note 42]. The Danish King Anlaf sailing up the Thames in 993 as far as Staines,§

* On an ancient Chart of the Course of the Four Great Roman Ways in Britain, read June 16, 1836, but never revised for press.

† Comment. de Bello Gallico, Lib. iv.

‡ It is delineated in Dr. Clarke's edition of the work.

§ Saxon Chron., Miss Gurney's Translation, p. 264.

makes nothing against the existence of the bridge at that time. His single-masted barks might have passed under it on the first return of a flood tide.* Another bridge which existed within our own recollection, we always considered constructed on a Roman model, or rather, perhaps, renewed on a Roman structure, although it might have no more claim to be strictly Roman than the sailor's knife to be his old one, having had at various times three new blades, at another a new handle. The bridge to which I allude was that which passed the Wye at Chepstow, the road over which led directly to Venta Silurum (Caerwent), the old Roman station still encircled by its massive wall. The wooden piers of this bridge were in the form of an X, placed parallel to the course of the torrent, and the limbs were strongly united and bound together with transverse pieces of timber. Of a similar description probably was the Roman bridge at London, if one were really placed there for the purposes we have detailed.

A. J. K.

SITE OF ANDERIDA.

[1844, pp. 577, 582.]

Should you consider the following observations as likely to illustrate the subject of which they treat, they are much at your service.

Yours, etc. BEALE POST.

Some doubts and difficulties occur with regard to the position of this place, the question of whose situation is not so smooth and flowing as its name. It has not the advantage of being mentioned in the Itineraries of Antoninus, but occurs in those of Richard of Cirencester, and is one of the stations mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*. It was the chief city of the widely extended district anciently called the Forest of Anderida, which reached 120 miles in length, and was accounted 30 miles wide. This the Britons called Coit Andred, the Saxons Andredswald, the Normans Andred or Walda. Darell, in his "Castles of Kent," styles it the Forest of Androgeus, meaning an allusion thereby to the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Anderida the City, the *Caer Andred* of the Britons, and the *Andredesceaster* of the Saxons in their Chronicle, must have been a place of considerable importance. It gave its appellation to the forest; and three cohorts are mentioned in the *Notitia* which may have derived their names from it, or from its district, *Andreciani Milites*, sect. 4, *Anderetiani*, sect. 64, and *Andericiani*, sec. 65; though, as there was an *Anderidum* in Gaul, the present Mende in Aquitaine, some one or more of those may have been named from that source. There were, without doubt, many cultivated and populous spots within the compass of this forest tract, and *Regnum*, or the present Chichester, the *Portus Adurni* also, as well as the *Portus*

* Saxon Chron., sub anno 993. [See Note 43.]

Magnus and Portus Novus of Ptolemy, must have been within its limits, or upon its outskirts.

However, Anderida, wherever it was situated, was taken and sacked in the year 492 by the Saxon forces under Ella and his son Cissa, and its inhabitants put to the sword. It would appear that, in consequence of Hengist having obtained the kingdom of Kent, other bodies of Saxons began to bear hard on the parts of Britain immediately to the west. Some years before the death of Hengist, in 488, the Saxons had become possessed of the whole of the sea coasts of Sussex, with the exception of the city of Anderida; which at last, by all its brave defenders perishing, as well as by its obstinate resistance, like Saguntum and Numantium of old, was destined to leave a melancholy interest to posterity. In the year above noted the Saxons made the greatest possible efforts to capture this place, as the Britons did on their part to defend it. During the time it held out they collected in large force in the parts of the forest of Anderida nearest adjoining, whence issuing, they harassed the Saxons by such repeated attacks, by night as well as by day, that they compelled them to raise the siege for a time, till by fighting they drove them back to the woods. After a while the Britons again issued and renewed their attacks; but the Saxons this time divided their army, and with one division kept the Britons in check, and with the other maintained the siege, till at last they took the town by storm. According to Henry of Huntingdon, when it was captured they slaughtered all the inhabitants from the least to the greatest, and so destroyed the city that it was never rebuilt; and the place where it stood continued to be shown to the passers-by.

In his second book he narrates the events of this Saxon war, as do Matthew of Westminster and Florence of Worcester after him; though both in much less detail, particularly the last.

Camden's account is, that it continued in this state of desolation till the reign of Edward I. (Henry III., A.D. 1243), when Sir Thomas Albuger (Fitz Aucher, though Weever has Albuger, p. 289) first founded a Carmelite monastery here, whence Newenden sprang up, and received its name, importing "the New Town in the Valley," as if in remembrance of its ancient predecessor. Could this account be depended upon, there would be an end at once of the inquiry as to its situation; but Camden does not quote his authorities, and reasons perhaps may be shown to the contrary. Lambarde, Selden, Plot, Harris, and Hasted, unite with him in his opinion, as also some later writers.

Nevertheless, as might be expected, this is not the only argument for placing Anderida at Newenden. A good show of argument there must needs be, since so many antiquaries of eminence and reputation, both of former and recent times, have embraced the opinion. The reasons, then, for Newenden appear to be these, which we may

review for the purpose of examining if they are placed on just and true grounds; and the rather as it may be suspected that some very considerable mistakes are mixed up with them.

1st. The statement of Camden above mentioned. 2nd. Its having been given, as it is said, in the year 791 by King Offa to the Monks of Canterbury, by the name of Andred. 3rd. That there is still a farm in the parish of a nearly similar name; that is, Arndred. And 4th. That it is placed in a part of Kent traditionally supposed to have been anciently within the boundaries of Sussex; whence it might be supposed the better to agree with Henry of Huntingdon's narrative.

With regard to the answers with which the above are to be met: some persons endeavour to prove that Camden is in error from a passage in Gildas, which, however, is so loosely worded that it will be better to decline taking advantage of it. It is as follows: "On the shore of the ocean on the South coast, where their vessels frequented, as they (the Saxons) were feared like wild beasts, they (the Romans) placed towers at intervals to overlook the sea."—Gildas, *Hist.* c. 18.

Here, what places Gildas means is not clear. He does not certainly mean Anderida, which is generally considered a city, and from which, or from its district, several cohorts are supposed to have been raised. Perhaps he does not mean Roman stations at all, but signal-places or watch-towers merely.

In the like manner, the retired situation of Newenden, at the head of a deep inlet of the sea, as it formerly was, cannot be adduced as an argument that it is not the site of Anderida. We know not for certain that it was so placed that it could command a good view of what passed on the British Channel to watch the Saxons, though, as the Romans in the time of the *Notitia* seem to have economized their forces, and in this part of the kingdom disposed them for that purpose, there seems to be some reason to suppose so.

Thus, we must dismiss two usually received arguments in this case. What appears chiefly to remain to us are the following:

1stly. As to Camden, the distances in the fifteenth Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, which take from Dover to the port of the river Lemana ten miles, another ten to the station he calls Lemanus, and from thence twenty-five to Anderida, appear to show that he is mistaken, notwithstanding some of those numbers may require trifling correction: Newenden is by no means at so considerable a distance from Dover. The advantage of seeing Richard's Itineraries the older antiquaries of course did not possess.

Again, the Anderesio mentioned in the *Chorography* of Ravennas, about the year 636, as one of the cities of Britain, would seem to be Anderida; and affords a strong presumption that it might not be lying at that date so utterly waste and desolate as supposed.

Further, Newenden is mentioned by its name as a manor in

Domesday Book, therefore Camden's assertion cannot be literally true; and hence, if it be *Anderida* revived, it must have been revived at a much earlier date than he supposes. This has been perceived, and, accordingly, the idea of Newenden originating from the Carmelite Priory has been dropped.

2ndly. In regard to Offa's alleged grant of the site of *Anderida* to the see of Canterbury, the circumstance of the donation, were it so, could hardly have escaped Somner, the registrar of the Dean and Chapter of his day, and the person so eminently versed in their records, that it may be said, without fear of contradiction, no one has at all equalled him since. The grant is alluded to by Twine, "*De Rebus Albionis*," p. 102, and may be found briefly noticed in Dugdale's "*Monasticon*," vol. i., p. 19, thus:

"In the year of our Lord 791, King Offa gave to the church of Canterbury Otteford, and fifteen plough lands in the province of Kent named Yecham, for the food of the monks. Perhamstede, Roking, and Andred for pannage of swine. Dunmalingdene, Sandherst, Suthelmingdene, and in the woods which are called Bochohte and Blean Heanhric; and another (pannage) between the torrent named Eorthburnan and Aghne, Orgariskwiketreow; and the pasture of one flock near Theningden, and fifty swine at Binnam Smede."

Twine gives the details in much the same words, variations of orthography only excepted, and informs us he took these particulars from the Book of Donations; belonging to the Dean and Chapter, of course, though he does not mention that circumstance.

Now there is every reason to suppose that Somner himself furnished this note of the grant to Dugdale, having been, as it is known, a large contributor to his work. It is certain that he was perfectly well acquainted with the work of Twine, as he quotes him frequently. Did this, therefore, prove *Anderida* to be Newenden, no one would have been sooner aware of it than himself, yet on the contrary he does not even refer to this circumstance, but is inclined to place *Anderida* elsewhere; see his "*Ports and Forts*," p. 103. We therefore may be fully justified in following his example, as there could not be a better judge in this matter; and we now possibly may be able to point out the misconception which exists in regard to this grant.

By consulting the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*" of Henry VIII. as published by the Record Commission, page 6, what Offa gave to the monks under the name *Andred* appears most probably not to have been the site of *Anderida*, but a manor and lands they had in the Weald called *Walda*, in the account of their estates, the precise situation of which seems not stated. *Andred* and *Walda* were synonymous, as *Andred* was a general name for the Weald. An estate belonging to a monastery in the Weald might easily be entered as an item in their list of lands as *Andred*, without any allusion to the city of *Anderida*; and in this case it would seem there is nothing else to

answer to the above estate of Walda, in the early grants to the monastery collected in Dugdale's "Monasticon," pp. 10 to 22, but this of Andred. This estate of theirs appears to have been large, as its value, £23 5s. 11½d. shows, compared with others in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus." It is true the "Valor" also shows they had the manor of Newenden, as we likewise know from other sources; but there seems no reason necessarily to connect it with Anderida, as they may have first built this place in the midst of the wild and desolate region in which it was situated, though not from the ruins of the above-mentioned city.

A manuscript of Thorne the chronicler, entitled "Evidences of Christ Church, Canterbury," extant in the library of Benet College, Cambridge (see Bernard's Catalogue, No. 1344, and printed so far back as the year 1651 in Twysden's "Decem Scriptores," page 2219), fully bears out the views afforded us by the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," and as it does not appear how its authenticity can be doubted, and as it has been seen what the usually received evidence of the grant amounts to, it may finally settle this point.

The words are, "In the year of our Lord 791, I, Offa the king, give to the church of Canterbury the fifteen plough lands I hold in the province of Kent, in my own right, in the places hereinafter named, that is, at Lecham, Phanstede, and Rochinga; and in the forest called Andred, pannage of swine in these places, Dunwalingden, Sandhyrste, and Swithelungden; and in the woods which are called Bocholt and Blean, at Heanhric; and another (pannage of swine) between the torrent named Neorthburnham and Haganetreow; and the feed of one flock near Teningden and of fifty swine at Binnansnede. This my donation I give free to the church of Christ, with all that of right belongs to it, and discharged of all secular service and regal tribute."

In the original Latin it is thus: "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXCI Ego Offa Rex [concedo] ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ terram juris mei xv aratrorum in provinciâ Cantix in his post nominatis locis, id est, Lecham, Phanstede, Rochingâ, et in saltu qui dicitur Andred [ad] pascua porcorum in his locis Dunwalingden, Sandhyrste, Swithelungden, et in sylvis quæ dicuntur Bocholt et Blean, Heanhric, et aliud inter torrentem nomine Neorthburnham et Haganetreow, et pastum unius gregis juxta Teningden et l porcorum Binnansnede. Hanc prædictam donationem [vobis] concedo liberam ecclesiæ Christi cum omnibus rite ad eam pertinentibus ab omni seculari servicio et regali tributo" [see Note 44].

Hence we may conclude that neither Twine nor Dugdale have faithfully given the purport of this grant, arising, as we may presume, from the incorrect insertion in the original donation book of the monastery.

3rdly. As to the farm Arndred in Newenden, thought to be a relic of the name Anderida, the Ordnance and other maps have Arnden or

Harnden, which materially alters the case ; and inquiries on the spot confirm this to be the proper appellation. There is, however, another place in this vicinity mentioned in connection with Newenden, and thought to bear on the point of its being Anderida, that is, Ander-down. By referring to Harris, we find this to have been the hill opposite Reading Street across the flat, but as he does not tell us on which side, its exact position does not appear ; but it cannot be nearer to Newenden village than five miles, and may be seven. The remaining argument for Newenden, namely, of having been, as it is said, anciently within the limits of Sussex, would be corroborative, could otherwise good proof be shown that it is Anderida, in which case only it could apply.

We must now refer to what evidence the place itself furnishes.

General estimation, on the authority of Plot, Harris, and Hasted, considers that there are two earthworks there ; one the Castle Hill, supposed the citadel, the other the Castle Toll, lying close to it, to the south, supposed the town or city of Anderida ; but whether there ever was such an earthwork as this last appears a little doubtful. Certain it is, that neither of these places presents the remains of the stone walls we might have expected to have met with where there had been a Roman city or fortress. To this it may be said that the walls were destroyed. But the foundations, would they not remain ? Dr. Harris was sensible of this objection, for he anticipates it, and informs us that from the general want of stone in this district the foundations have probably been removed ; as, he erroneously adds, those of the Carmelite Priory have been, a far more recent building. He was not aware that these continued in existence, as indeed they do to the present day. As this fact therefore has come to knowledge, reasoning from a parity of circumstances, it is much more likely that the foundations of the city of Anderida should remain, if it were situated at the Castle Toll, being more remote from roads and modern population. In regard to the walls of the supposed citadel at Castle Hill, he himself furnishes an answer in another place, by observing that the remaining embankments there have a complete and well-finished appearance. Therefore they have been always earthworks : and as such it appears by Dr. Plot's papers, and his own account, had been continually ploughed down lower and lower, though the same, has been discontinued in later times, the spot having been long converted into pasture. Had the foundations of the stone walls been removed, the ground must have been opened for that purpose, and would have laid about in heaps together with the rubbish in great confusion, not displaying the regularity of which Dr. Harris speaks, and which in fact exists.

A visit to Newenden will much tend to dissipate the idea of its having been Anderida, and will convey the impression that the claims put forward for this place have been greatly exaggerated. The part

of the parish supposed the former site of the city and citadel, that is, the Castle Toll and Castle Hill, occupies the extremity of a neck of land intervening between the rivers Hexden and Rother, whose conflux took place here. In their former state both these rivers must have been at the least a quarter of a mile wide: and the Rother probably exceeded that breadth. They are now no longer estuaries, but are reduced to small rivers. As to the spots proposed for investigation, the Castle Toll, properly The Tolls, the reputed site of the city, is so like any other two fields of arable land, is so uniformly level, and is so devoid of any remains of building materials, or discoloration of the soil, as to suggest much doubt, not only whether it has been a city, but even an ancient camp. It is usually supposed an inclosed inclosure of eighteen or twenty acres, or affording strong evidence of having been one. At the present time it shows no indications whatever; and it seems an embankment was only professed on the east side by its first describers, and the rest conjectured. This may have been one formed on the point of land to prevent a landing near the adjoining fort; or this may have been confused with a ridge or prominence at the edge of the marsh, as is frequently met with. The name given of Castle Toll, which would appear significant, on reference to the map of Lossenham estate, of which the lands here are a part, is found to be the appellation of the Castle Hill only. These fields are styled therein no otherwise than "The Tolls," which will not be considered to apply to a military work.

In the like manner Dr. Harris represents the Castle Hill—properly, the Castle Toll, here however styled according to its acquired name—as comprising five or six acres. This in reality applies only to the field in which it is situated, which, according to the above map, is 6 acres, 2 roods, and 35 perches, since the area of the interior of the earthwork, which is a square with rounded corners, is only about half an acre. A detailed account of this fort, with a plan, will be given in "The Military Antiquities of Kent." It is the fortified work mentioned by Kilburne as destroyed by the Danes in 892, at which time we are told they constructed a stronger one at Appledore, nearer the sea by seven miles, and then an insular situation, where they for awhile maintained themselves.

Both the Tolls and the Castle Hill are situated at the extremity of a neck of land at the former junction of the rivers Hexden and Rother, and no vestiges of a road are observable connecting them with the main land.

Newenden is thus perhaps sufficiently cleared away, which leaves an opening for substituting some other place. If our doubts are satisfied with regard to it, Pevensey Castle appears to have the best claims to our attention, which is the remains of a stone fortress of Roman origin, as the solid elliptical towers and layers of Roman bricks show, and is of some considerable extent, as it incloses about

eleven acres of ground. The form of it is irregular, and subsequent to the time of the Romans a strong Norman keep has been added in the interior of it. The correspondence of its situation with the Itineraries of Richard is shown elsewhere ; and for a description of this place the reader may be referred to King's "*Munimenta Antiqua*," where he will find an admirable one.

It has been remarked that Anderida having been garrisoned in the time of the Notitia, there is some presumption, though not necessarily a certainty, that it was so situated as to have a commanding view of the sea, and capable of being occupied to advantage against the Saxons. Were this the case, Pevensey would have been extremely well adapted. The port, swarved up in modern times, and consequently lost to the British Channel, lay before the castle, and was perfectly protected from the south-western gales, the most dreaded on this coast : while signals from the high promontory of Beachy Head, close adjoining, would have informed the garrison and vessels at anchor here of what was transacted on the ocean for a long distance round. A place better suited for the purpose could not have been wished ; unlike Newenden, from which they could see nothing that transpired in the British Channel, whose situation likewise would have required nearly a day's navigation to get out to sea.

Some have an idea that the walls of Anderida were razed to the ground at the time the city was captured ; but, on turning to the authorities we have before mentioned, nothing appears to countenance the opinion. Henry of Huntingdon's words are, "they so destroyed the city that it was never rebuilt again." He says nothing about the walls. Why should not, therefore, the walls of Anderida remain yet standing, as well as those of some other Roman stations, and be in equally good preservation as those of Pevensey are ? We have reason to believe that, although breaches were made in the walls of Reculver, Richborough, and Lynne, and portions of them thrown down by their conquerors, yet that they have chiefly been dilapidated by being removed for building materials. If, therefore, the walls of Anderida have by any circumstances escaped this spoliation, their present existence is only what might have been expected.

In regard to the name Pevensey, we find that there is great reason to suppose that Anderida, about A.D. 600, or soon after, had become altered to Anderesio in which form we find it in the work of Ravennas. About two hundred years afterwards, in the work of Nennius, among the twenty-eight cities of Britain, the one styled "*Pensa vel Coit*," that is, Pensa otherwise Coit, is mentioned. This name appears to connect itself much with Pevensey, which by the country people is called Pembsey, extremely similar in sound ; it connects itself slightly with Anderida, by its alias Coit, or the forest, Anderida having been the principal forest city or town in Britain, and Anderida the town, and Andred the forest, being often men-

tioned in connection with each other. When the British language declined in use, it is not surprising a change of name took place; or it may have received the name Pensa from some circumstances of its situation.

The foregoing appears most relative respecting the situation of Anderida. Should the inquirer not acquiesce, not only must a new site be found for it, but some suitable Roman port or station for Pevensey, where there is every reason to suppose there has been one. [See Note 45.]

CASTOR, IN NORFOLK.

[1807, *Part II.*, p. 913.]

Travelling through the hundred of Henstede, in Norfolk, a few weeks since, I could not (although several miles out of my way) resist the temptation of paying a visit to Castre (or Caster) well known to antiquaries for a considerable Roman camp, which remains very conspicuous to this day (see Fig. 8).

Caster, Mr. Urban, has long been considered by authors of good repute the *Venta Icenorum** of the ancients; but, however probable it may appear to some, to others it proves equally contrary.†

It is well known, when the Romans invaded this island, it was a long time before the Icenii were entirely subjugated. Tacitus‡ says of them: "These people were stout and valiant; and after they had thrown themselves under the protection of the Romans, suffered nothing by war until the time of Claudius; but when Ostorius the Proprætor began to fortify the passes with castles, and disarm the Britons, they formed a body, and made open insurrection; and drawing together the neighbouring people, chose a place for the scene of action, fenced with a rude rampire; and, to make it secure against such warlike people, with whom they hourly expected to engage, the entrance was so contracted as to make it inaccessible to the Roman cavalry."

But it afterwards proved to the great disadvantage of the poor Britons; for the Roman general, observing their motions, drew up his cohorts, and putting the troops of horse in readiness, gave the signal, and they fell furiously upon the Britons, breaking down the walls, distressing those pent up in their own fences, and doing much damage: the Icenii being thus vanquished, were obliged to act in a servile state, under the authority of the Roman banner.

After the Romans had subjected their enemies, they considered it necessary to protect themselves against any attempt which might be

* Gale, Horsley, Stukeley, Camden's "Britannia," by Bishop Gibson, p. 385; Whitaker's "History of Manchester," vol. i., p. 62: Ives's "Garianonum," p. 8, edit. 1803.

† Blomefield's "Norf.," vol. ii., p. 7; vol. v., p. 423, edit. octavo, 1806. I refer this edition on account of its convenience and correctness.

‡ Tacitus, lib. 12, chap. 31. Camden, p. 336.

made by the natives ; for this purpose, the most advantageous spots were chosen, contiguous to some navigable stream, where they raised *camp*s, *stations*, etc., that, in case a change of fortune should take place, they might not be at a loss to send to their allies for assistance.

The Romans were a very politic people, exceedingly acute in making discoveries for their own benefit ; and we may infer that the several Roman stations which are to be seen in the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk to this day were very probably raised during the government of Britain by Claudius Cæsar, or shortly after. At the time of the arrival of the Romans in this country, the mouth of the Yare was very wide, from whence two considerable estuaries extended into the interior part of each county (or more properly, up the country) ; when the Yare arrived at Garianonum,* now Burgh Castle, it divided itself into two parts, one to the north, the other to the south, the Romans following the course of the estuaries as their Icenian conquests enlarged ; and, after possessing themselves of Garianonum, they erected a *summer camp* at Castor, on the opposite side of the water ; higher up to the north, at Caster (the place in question) a camp was fixed also, at Taseborough, the station ad Taum, and more north, the Venta Icenorum, now North Elmham : The south estuary passed the island † Lothingland, so to Worlingham, ‡ Beccles, Schep-medway, § Mettingham, || and many other places beyond Harleston, in Norfolk, which places were actually inhabited by the same people, as many Roman antiquities do testify to this day.

Perhaps, Mr. Urban, I may be censured by some of your correspondents, better skilled in Roman antiquities, for making Elmham the Venta Icenorum ; but I see no just grounds for altering my opinion. ¶ Have there been found any aqueducts, pavements, or any such-like Roman work, as is frequently seen at Elmham, and other Roman cities or towns ? ** or have any authors given sufficient proofs to induce to believe it was ? If there hath been such testimony, I have not had the good fortune to witness it.

That Caster was the most considerable place in these parts appears from its extent, which is very visible. Blomefield's account of it is : "It is a square *vallum* and rampart, and hath been inclosed with a

* Ives's "Garianonum," p. 12.

† As it was at that time.

‡ The many pieces of Roman pottery discovered here, and a Roman road running on its south side, are striking proofs of its being possessed by the Romans in early times.

§ That is, Ship-meadow.

|| I have in my collection several Roman coins found at Ditchingham, a village opposite Mettingham.

¶ Blomefield, vol. v., p. 424.

** For an account of Roman camps, stations, etc., see Whitaker's "Manchester," and Gibson's "History of Caster, Northamptonshire." The former is very valuable and scarce ; the latter was published by Nichols and Son, and is a very interesting work.

strong wall of flints and Roman brick, still evident in many places; the grand entrance was in the middle of the east part, at each corner of which there were *mounts* or *watch-towers*; and below, on the west part, which was washed by the Taüs, or Tese, was a water-gate, with a round tower by it, where the vessels used to unload: the whole site contains about 30 acres." The parish church, which is dedicated to St. Edmund, the king and martyr, stands at the south-east corner within the walls (see the plan); placed there, as Blomefield remarks, for convenience of the materials with which it is built; and, indeed, upon examination I found it as he relates, "the whole of flints and Roman bricks," without doubt taken from the old walls of the camp, as the materials of many of the old houses in the parish were likewise.

Bishop Gibson, in his *Additions to Camden*, p. 396, says: "The faces for the four gates are still manifestly to be seen;" but in this account the learned prelate has not fully satisfied me. When at Caster, I traced the walls, but found not the least appearance of an entrance on the north side, as there was at the other three; where the grand entrance was may be difficult to determine. Blomefield makes it on the east; but, in my opinion, the *south* side claimed the noble entrance to this splendid and impregnable camp. Mr. Blomefield thinks there was no *burial-place* attached to it, on account of *his* not hearing of any urns being discovered, which appears very remarkable, as innumerable pieces of them are to be met with in any part of the camp: I took part of one home with me, which, if in a perfect state, would contain at least a peck of grain. An old man also informed me that about two months since he and two other labourers were digging gravel against the north wall (see the plan, No. 1); they took up a middle-sized urn, in a very good state, which contained nothing but ashes; it is now in the hands of Mr. —, the present occupier of Caster Hall. The above old man likewise declared to me that others had been found in the area of the camp. Many coins found here were given me to look at—which were of the ornate sort, ill-executed, and of no value. The size of the bricks is various; those most common are a foot square, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The inhabitants of the village and neighbourhood have a tradition that Norwich took not its rise till after the desolation of Castor, and give the following metrical account of it:

"Castor was a city when Norwich was none,
Norwich was built of Castor's stone."

W. ALDIS.

ROMAN STATIONS NEAR STAFFORD.

[1804, *Part I.*, p. 528.]

At the distance of a mile and a half from Stafford, at a place called Belineton Bury, are the remains of a Roman camp, probably the place from which, as Mr. Erdeswick observes, that instrument was

dated "long before the Conquest *apud Castrum juxta Stafford*," which he mentions as being somewhere seen. If, then, we suppose Stretton to have been the famous Pennocrucium, here are four camps in a right line with Anconium and Mancunium, viz., Stretton, Billinton Bury, Wolsercestre,* near Stone, and Chesterton, a little beyond Newcastle.

S.

THE NOVERCÆ OF ROMAN CAMPS.

[1843, *Part II.*, pp. 140, 141.]

Among the rules laid down in Hyginus, relating to the castrametation of the Romans, he says (with reference to the choice of ground for a camp): "Those defects which our ancestors called *novercæ* (mothers-in-law) ought always to be avoided; such as a hill commanding the camp, by which the enemy can descend in attack, or see what is done in the camp; or a wood where the enemy can lie in ambush; or ravines or valleys by which they can steal unawares on the camp; or such a situation of the camp that it can be suddenly flooded from a river." Improbable as it may seem, yet it can be demonstrated that these defects (these *novercæ* of the Romans) are at this day to be traced, by nearly the same name, in the vicinity of the sites of ancient camps in this country; for, although these places are now called and written NOWER, NORE, and NORK, yet such may have been the vulgar modes of pronouncing *novercæ* among the Roman soldiery. Whether this were so or not, it is certain that there are very many places called Nower and Nore in this island; but no one has, I believe, ever accounted for the name, or attempted to do so. I will mention three instances in demonstration of my views upon this subject.

Upon that eminence, near Dorking in Surrey, called Bury Hill (at the foot of which is the mansion of Charles Barclay, Esq.), there was, undoubtedly, a Roman camp. There are other proofs of such being the fact besides the name. Another and a higher part of the same eminence (lying nearer to the town of Dorking) is called "The Nower," and it commands, as it were, that part of the elevation which is known as Bury Hill.

At Headley, in the same county, there is, on very high ground, a wood called The Bury (and frequently The Old Bury), where there certainly was, heretofore, a camp. An adjoining and overlooking eminence is called The Nore, and, as frequently, The Nower.

Burgh House, at Banstead, in Surrey (not far from Epsom Downs), also stands upon the site of a Roman camp. Of this being the fact there can be no question, as discoveries have been there made indicating its Roman origin or character. Close to this (now merely

* The ancient seat of the Kings of Mercia, now called Bury Bank.

separated by a road) is somewhat higher ground, called Nork, upon which stands the mansion called Nork House.*

In each of these three instances one of the disadvantages or defects pointed out by Hyginus existed. The Noverca (Nower, Nore, or Nork) appears to have overlooked its adjoining bury or camp. At Burgh (in Banstead) the Romans evidently endeavoured to counteract the imperfection they had thus to contend with, by raising a large barrow or tumulus at the extremity of Nork, and in such a position as therefrom the camp and the adjacent country could be watched.† (Tumuli, says Dr. Clarke, were raised by the Romans in their camps and citadels; certainly for reconnaissance. *Vide Fosbroke.*) As some proof of the Roman origin of this barrow or tumulus, and of the Roman names of places having descended to these times, is the fact that the field where the barrow is, goes by the name of Tumble Field (a corruption of Tumulus or of the British word *Tumpath*); and the adjacent farm is called Tumble Farm.

Nore, Nower, and Nork, although thus slightly varying in orthography, can, it is plain, equally claim Noverca for their parent.

That many other instances of the proximity of Nower and Bury (as applied to places) exist in this country I am convinced; and I trust I shall see such communications to you (induced by the present one) upon the subject as will strongly confirm my hypothesis. Do not the same coincidences exist in France, and in other countries which the Romans occupied, as well as in Britain?

There are, I feel persuaded, more remains of the language of the Romans in the names of places in this island than have been generally imagined. To evince this I will shortly trouble you with another communication on the subject.

Yours, etc.

J. P.

[1844, *Part I.*, p. 367.]

With reference to my communication on the subject of the *Noverca* of the Romans (which appeared in your magazine for August last), I am anxious to submit to you some additional particulars to establish the fact of Bury Hill, near Dorking, having been a station or camp of the Romans. I have reasons for believing it to have been a stronghold of the Britons previously, but I shall not labour that point here.

The Roman road from Arundel (Anderida) towards London, which was not formed, as I have before said, until the time of Honorius and Arcadius, passes near Bury Hill; and I am strongly of opinion that that position was the principal station of the Romans for the

* Nork was the seat of the late venerable Lord Arden; and Burgh that of the present lord, who is also Earl of Egmont.

† This barrow is planted with fir-trees, which are a well-known object, being visible for many miles.

protection of that road. The camp was approached by a way that went out of the Roman road, through a farm near the Homewood, called Porteridges, from, I think, the Roman words *Porta Aggeris*, "the gate of the road or causeway,"* and passed between two barrows, on land now corruptly named "Barras lands," but two centuries ago called "The Two Barrowes." This was a usual approach to Roman camps. The name of "Hamsted" seems to have been applied to Bury Hill, as some adjoining lands, and an obsolete manor there, are so called, and a small stream, between Porteridges and Bury Hill, has a little bridge over it, which seems to have been called "Hambridge," or, as it is written in Henry III.'s time, "Hambrecht." It is singular that attached to old camps we find, frequently, the distinct names of "Bury" and "Sted." My opinion is, founded on much observation, that whenever a camp was formed or used by the Romans, as and for a station, the term "sted" is generally found attached to it, or is now transferred to some place in the immediate vicinity, and which I derive from their *Stativa*.

The situation of Bury Hill, in relation to the Roman road in question, is a strong circumstance in favour of its having been the principal station for guarding it, which became, in those days, a necessary precaution, by reason of the invasions by the Franks, Saxons, etc., on the southern coast.

There are two places at no great distance from Bury Hill, one to the north and the other to the south, respectively called Norbury and Suthbury, probably from such their relative position to Bury Hill. Norbury is the well-known and splendid eminence at Mickleham, heretofore the seat of the late Wm. Locke, Esq., now of H. P. Sperling, Esq. Suthbury is that gentle eminence on the Homewood upon which have of late been erected two excellent houses, of antique appearance, by Miss Arnold. The name has been corrupted into "Subbaries," or something like it; but I have documents of great antiquity in which it is written "Suthburrie."

Soon after this famous road was made, the Romans abandoned Britain, and Bury Hill was named by the Saxons Middleton (now contracted to Milton), from its having been the middle or main station on the Roman road, or from its lying about midway between Norbury and Suthbury.

Yours, etc. J. P.

* This road was most substantially made, and was, in fact, a causeway raised above the surface. An unusual quantity of materials was employed for the purpose. See Gibson's *Additions to Camden in Surrey and Sussex*. It passed through the whole width of the forest of Andredswald, of which the soil was excessively deep and miry. And see some account of it in Manning and Bray's "*Surrey*," in the Appendix, 3rd volume. The Agger is very visible on Mickleham and Leatherhead Downs. Some years ago the inhabitants on the line of this road in the lower part of Surrey had a remarkable tradition concerning it, namely, that it was made by soldiers, who handed the stones from one to the other in baskets.

THE EMBANKMENT OF THE THAMES.

[1787, *Part II.*, pp. 685-687.]

In compliance with yours and your correspondent's request, which I did not see until a few days ago [see Note 46], I take up my pen to give you and him all the little information that I can give upon so obscure a subject as the embankment of the Thames. We have no written authorities concerning it. There is not a hint, or the shadow of a hint, in any of the Roman authors respecting it. And we can only fix a date upon that memorable work from reasoning and remains united.

When the Britons were the sole lords of these islands, their rivers, we may be sure, strayed at liberty over the adjacent country, confined by no artificial barriers, and having no other limits to their overflow than what nature itself had provided. This would be particularly the case with the Thames. London itself was only a fortress in the woods then; and the river at its foot then roamed over all the low grounds that skirt its channel. Thus it ran on the south from the west of Wandsworth to Woolwich, to Dartford, to Gravesend, and to Sheerness; and, on the north, ranged from Poplar and the Isle of Dogs, along the levels of Essex, to the mouth of the Thames.

In this state of the river, the Romans settled at London. Under their management, London soon became a considerable mart of trade. It afterwards rose to the dignity of a military colony. And it was even made at last the capital of one of those provinces into which the Roman parts of Britain were divided. The spirit of Roman refinement, therefore, would naturally be attracted by the marshes immediately under its eye, and would as naturally exert itself to recover them from the waters. The low grounds of St. George's Fields, particularly, would soon catch the eye, and soon feel the hand, of the improving Romans. And from those grounds the spirit of embanking would gradually go on along both the sides of the river; and, in nearly four centuries of the Roman residence here, would erect those thick and strong ramparts against the tide, which are so very remarkable along the Essex side of the river, and a breach in which, at Dagenham, was with so much difficulty, and at so great an expense, closed even in our own age.

Such works are plainly the production of a refined period. They are therefore the production either of these later ages of refinement, or of some period of equal refinement in antiquity. Yet they have not been formed in any period to which our records reach. Their existence is antecedent to all our records. They are the operation of a remoter age. And then they can be ascribed only to the Romans, who began an era of refinement in this island, that was

terminated by the Saxons, and that did not return till three or four centuries ago.

But let me confirm my reasoning with a few facts. It is well known that a dispute was formerly maintained between Dr. Gale and others, concerning the real position of the Roman London; whether it was on the northern or on the southern side of the river. The dispute was a very frivolous one. London undoubtedly was then, as it is now, upon the northern. But I mean to turn the dispute into its right channel. And I can demonstrate, I think, the embankment of the Thames to be a work of the Romans, from some incidents that came out in the course of it.

"It can hardly be supposed," says an antagonist of Dr. Gale's, who has considered the ground more attentively than any other author, "that the sagacious Romans would have made choice of so noisome a place for a station, as *St. George's Fields must then have been*. For to me it is *evident*, that at that time *those fields* must have been overflowed by every spring-tide. For, notwithstanding the river being at present confined by artificial banks, I have frequently, at spring-tides, seen the small current of water which issues from the river Thames through a common sewer at the Falcon, not only fill all the neighbouring ditches, but also, at the upper end of Gravel Lane, overflow its banks into St. George's Fields. And considering that above a *twelfth* part of the water of the river is denied passage," when the *tide* sets up the river, "by the piers and starlings of London Bridge (it flowing, at an ordinary spring-tide, upwards of 19 inches higher on the *east* than on the *west* side of the said bridge), I think this is a plain indication that, before the Thames was confined by banks, St. George's Fields must have been *considerably* under water *every high tide*; and that part of the said fields called Lambeth Marsh was under water not an age ago. And upon observation it will still appear that, *before* the exclusion of the river, *it* must have been overflowed by most *neap tides*."*

This gives us sufficient evidences that *naturally* and *originally* the large level which we denominate St. George's Fields was, previously to the embankment of the Thames, all covered with the spreading waters of the tide at every spring. Yet this very strand of the sea appears to have been actually *used* by the Romans. The Romans *had houses upon it*: the Romans had *burying-grounds within it*. "In his Campis quos Sancti Georgii plebs vocat," says Dr. Gale for another purpose, "*multa* Romanorum *numismata*, opera tesselata," the fine floors of Roman parlours, "*lateres*, et *rudera*, subinde deprehensa sunt. Ipse *urnam* majusculam, ossibus refertam, nuper redemi a fossoribus, qui, non procul ab hóc Burgo," Southwark, "*ad Austrum, multos alios simul eruerunt*."†

* Maitland's "History of London," p. 8.

† Antonini Itin., p. 65.

This argument may be pursued still further, carried over the very site of Southwark itself, and extended up to Deptford, and Blackheath beyond. All these are a part of the original marshes of the Thames. Southwark even stands upon what is properly a part of St. George's Fields. Yet Southwark is expressly mentioned so early as 1052; and began undoubtedly with the bridge, which is noticed so early as 1016 before.* And, as Dr. Woodward remarks in opposition to Dr. Gale's discoveries in St. George's Fields, "there have been other like antiquities discovered, from that place onwards for some miles eastward, near the lock, in the gardens along the south side of Deptford Road, a little beyond Deptford, on Blackheath, etc. I have now in my custody *the hand of an ancient Terminus*—with two faces. There were found along with it large flat bricks, and other antiquities, that were *unquestionably Roman*. All these were retrieved about twenty years since, in digging in Mr. Cole's gardens by the [Deptford] road mentioned above. I have seen likewise a *simpulum* that was dugged up near New Cross. And there were several years ago discovered two *urns*, and five or six of those viols that are usually called *lachrymatories*, a little beyond Deptford. Nay, there hath been very lately a great number of *urns*, and other things, discovered on Blackheath."†

These are decisive evidences that the wonderful work of embanking the river was projected and executed by the Romans. It was the natural operation of that magnificent spirit which intersected the surface of the earth with so many raised ramparts for roads. The Romans first began it in St. George's Fields probably. They then continued it along the adjoining, and equally shallow, marshes of the river. And they finally consummated it, I apprehend, in constructing the grand sea-wall along the deep fens of Essex.

To what I have thus said, I can add only one thing more. There is, I remember, in Wren's "Parentalia," a passage upon this very subject, containing the opinion of Sir Christopher Wren respecting it. There Sir Christopher, if I remember right, extends the overflow of the tide considerably more into the land than I have done. But he attributes the embankment, as I do, to the Romans; though he has not appealed to that striking demonstration of the opinion, the British state of St. George's Fields, etc., contrasted with the Roman condition of them. And I think you cannot entertain your readers better than by presenting them with this passage out of that rare and curious work. [See Note 47.]

Yours, etc. J. WHITAKER.

* Florentius Wigorn., 413, "cum suâ classe Godwinus Comes, adversus cursum Tamensis devectus . . . ad Suthweorce venit," etc., vol. i., p. 209, edit. 1848; and Saxon Chron. 1016 for the bridge.

† Leland's "Itin.," edit. 3rd, vol. viii., at the end a letter to Mr. Hearne, written in 1711, and preface to ii, 7.

Historical Notes.



HISTORICAL NOTES.

A VISIT TO THE PORTUS ITIUS.

[1846, *Part II.*, pp. 251-257.]

LET those who please discard their Cæsar as a mere schoolbook : for my own part, I never set my foot in France, where he meets us at every step as a warrior and a writer, without taking him up and enjoying a reperusal of his unrivalled narrative. With these impressions my military friend and I have just visited Wissant, the Portus Itius of the Roman conqueror, from which he effected his two descents upon Britain. This excursion was undertaken without any view of wearying ourselves or anybody else by entering into a controversy respecting the exact location of the Portus Itius, but merely to investigate what is called the "Camp de César;" to survey the general appearance of the position and of the neighbouring country, and to reflect, with the scene before our eyes, upon an event in which we have so deep a domestic interest. We therefore very complacently took it for granted that Wissant is *bonâ fide* the Portus Itius; and we recommend all those who wish to view the conflicting opinions upon the subject to consult Baron Walckenaer, "*Géographie ancienne des Gaules*," tom. i., p. 448, and ii., p. 467—with this preliminary caution, that Walckenaer, like other people, is liable to slips of the pen; as, for instance, when he approves of Pliny's assertion, that the distance from Gessoriacus (Boulogne) "*au rivage le plus prochaine de l'Angleterre est de 50 milles*;" "*distance très exacte*," adds the Baron, although the real space between Boulogne and either Dover or Folkestone is within a trifle of 29 English miles.

Boulogne was our starting-point; but we quitted the chaussée leading to Calais at Wimille, and jolted along a track which led towards the coast. We had from the hills, before descending towards Ambleteuse, a prospect of the immense irruption of blown sand, which, driven far inland, overwhelms the country like a lava

flood, or an avalanche, converting whatever may have been the original fertility of the surface of the soil into the arid sandhills of a garenne or rabbit warren, scantily covered with the sea-arum and sea-buck-thorn. This dune, the work of the south-westerners during the lapse of innumerable ages, acts as a dam to the drainage of the valley; an interruption which must have produced swamps in former days, and is now but imperfectly corrected by an artificial channel, the embouchure of which forms the little harbour of Ambleteuse. M. de Walckenaer conjectures Ambleteuse to have been the "Portus Citerior" of Cæsar, but I cannot call to mind any such expression in the "Commentaries." We considered this canal as made long subsequent to the time of Cæsar, who, although he speaks in the plural number of the ports of the Morini, alludes in all probability to the same only that were frequented in later times by the Romans, among which Ambleteuse does not figure. The drainage of this district, thus originally intercepted by the dunes, might be supposed to have occasioned malaria along the coast; but Cæsar, who frequently mentions the "paludes" of Belgic Gaul, makes no remark as to the insalubrity of the country. On the contrary, when he had afterwards driven Pompey across the Adriatic, and quartered his troops in the heel of Italy, Italians as they were for the most part, they suffered immensely from the change of climate: "gravis autumnus in Apuliâ, circumque Brundisium, ex *saluberrimis* Galliæ et Hispaniæ regionibus omnem exercitum valetudine tentaverat" [iii. 2]; and this to such a degree that his traitorous lieutenant, Labienus, in a speech to Pompey on the eve of the battle of Pharsalia, refused to recognise them at all as his victorious comrades. "Noli existimare, Pompei, hunc esse exercitum qui Galliam Germaniamque devicerit multos autumnis in Italia consumpsit." [De Bello Civili, iii. 87.]

We now reached Cape Grisnez, the *Itium Promontorium* of the ancients, a name which announces our approach to the object of our excursion. This is a remarkable point in past and present geography, not so much on account of its elevation and conspicuousness, for in those respects it yields to Cape Blanc-nez, which is, I believe, considerably higher, and much more notable on account of its far-seen cliffs of chalk; but at Cape Grisnez the coast makes a turn, and, coming from the south in a due northerly direction, here begins to tend to the north-east, presenting an obtuse angle, the nearest point of the Continent to Great Britain. We did not quit this promontory without looking into the Phare, and were well pleased with the ingenuity displayed in the construction of the lenses, by which the light of its slender cotton wicks, fed with colza oil (fish oil was mentioned with contempt), is multiplied, concentrated, and magnified, and diffuses every night so brilliant an illumination over the Channel.*

* This dioptric apparatus, the admirable invention of M. Laputé, has been adopted in our South Foreland lighthouse, and in that also, I believe, of the

The corresponding light upon the English coast stands at the South Foreland. Modern navigation, with its countless vessels from all parts of the globe continually passing between the Northern and Atlantic oceans, requires these situations for its signal lights as more suited to general purposes; and the old Roman fire-beacons of Boulogne and Dover, which served well enough to guide an occasional galley in a run from port to port across the straits, have been long abandoned. The usual fate of Roman buildings attended these two turrets: like the tombs of Metella and Hadrian, their vast strength tempted the chieftains of the Middle Ages. They were diverted from their original purpose, and converted into fortresses. The erection of that at Boulogne, the *Turris ardens*, or Tour d'Ordre as they call it, is ascribed to Caligula.* It was fortified when Boulogne formed a bone of contention between France and England, and is now fallen, with scarce a vestige left. But the Pharos at Dover still exists; one of the most remarkable relics of Roman masonry remaining in England [*ante*, p. 145, and Note]. Its preservation may in some degree be attributed to the Anglo-Normans, who encased it with a coating of flint and silicious grit, using Caen stones for the quoins and ornamental portions. The style of the windows, and a stone tablet inserted in the wall sculptured with the arms of Lord Grey, of Codnor, gave a date to these alterations of about the middle of the thirteenth century, 1259. The casing has fallen away from the weather side of the building, and exposes the Roman masonry in great perfection. The usual powerful mortar appears mixed with its pounded brick, a double horizontal course of tiles, and more particularly squared blocks of a calcareous stalagmitic deposit, not unlike the favourite material, the travertino of the Romans, a semblance of which in this distant land they seem to have delighted to honour. But no one knows whence they contrived to obtain it. Nothing of the kind exists near Dover. Fragments of the same sort of stone are said to be seen among the little that remains of the Boulogne Pharos, suggesting perhaps that it might have been quarried in that neighbourhood; and there is at Belle Brune, 12 miles from Boulogne, a spring, the waters of which do produce calcareous incrustations. The use of the material in both fire-towers, and their uniformity of design, both being octangular, lead to a supposition that they must have been contemporaneous erections—perhaps about the year 43 of our era, in the reign of Claudius, when the Romans renewed their intercourse with Britain, 96 years after it had been visited by Julius Cæsar.

Eddystone. The colza (rape) oil has been in use at the South Foreland since May last.

* A tower built by Caligula is mentioned by Suetonius in his life of that emperor, but without any information as to its position. It is Cluverius, I believe, whose conjecture, fixing it at Boulogne, is generally followed. Other authorities, however, suppose it to have been erected near Leyden, in Holland.

From the height where stands the Phare, we walked over the rest of the Itian promontory, until, descending at its northern extremity, we gained the "Sables blancs," that have occasioned the change in the name of the Portus Itius; which, although sometimes written Issius, possesses nothing in common with the word Wissant. "White sand" tells of other conquerors than the Romans: the Saxon pirate,

"—Cui pelle salem sulcare Britannum
Ludus, et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo,"

found this bay well suited to his predatory descents; and here, like the Roman, he hauled up his vessels high and dry.

<p>þa wæs on sande sæ-geap naca hladen here-wædum hringed stefna mærum and maðmum.*</p>	<p>There was on <i>the</i> sand <i>the</i> sea-curved bark laden with war-weeds, <i>the</i> ringed vessel, with horses and gifts.</p>
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Witsand in medieval Latin is written "Guitsand." "Je trouve," says M. de Walckenaer, "qu'en 1100, Henri 1^{er}, écrivant à Anselme, archévêque de Cantorbéry, qui était en Normandie, lui recommande de venir par Guitsand, et lui apprend qu'il l'attendra à Douvres." He refers to Ducange for ample proof that Witsand was habitually the point of embarkation for Dover between the years 529 and 1327, a period which sufficiently accounts for the Saxon appellation, and for other circumstances connected with the place.

To those who walk along these sands as we did, and view the particles driven along by the westerly wind, two things are apparent: first, the extremely slow process of accretion by which the enormous dunes have been formed south of Cape Grisnez, where they tower so high, and penetrate so deep into the country; and, secondly, the immense effect produced by a slight deviation in the direction of the coast, in correcting the evil influence of the south-westerly gales; for to the north of Cape Grisnez the coast runs parallel to the force of the prevailing wind, and the sands, no longer driven very much inland, are thrown up along the verge of the beach, forming a useful rampart against these furious blasts, behind which the miserable huts and their squalid inmates creep for shelter; a contrast in every respect to the British shore, where water, not wind, is the impelling agent, carrying onwards an unceasing accumulation of shingle along the beach, and collecting the sand into the syrtes of the Goodwin, annually doing more mischief than all the French dunes put together.

The Bay of Wissant is a solitary expanse, a curve of some seven or eight miles; the dreary sandhills shut away all view inland, and the sea to us was relieved by scarce a single sail on the horizon.

* Beowulf [xxvii., E.E.T.S. edition, lines 1896-1898].

The impressions of the naked feet of two human beings, à la Robinson Crusoe, and a group of dismal looking gulls, were all we saw, until about the centre of the bay, when a fishing-boat or two, and a few idlers, gave intimation of the neighbouring village. But this is exactly the sort of shore that would have been selected by the ancients; it is somewhat sheltered by Cape Grisnez, and well adapted to the practice of hauling up vessels. Such a spot never failed to attract the early Greek and Roman mariner, and such I have often stopped to examine along the coasts of the Mediterranean. Such is Cumæ, where the poetical ancestor of Julius Cæsar drew up his vessels, and first set foot on his promised land, while his unlucky pilot was washed upon a precisely similar beach at Velia. Turning through the sandhills by an aperture made by a little brook, in about a hundred yards we found ourselves at the humble straggling hamlet of Wissant. The old entrenchment is situated five minutes' walk further on; we went there immediately, and passing through a few clover and wheat fields, resounding with the liquid notes of the quail, we ascended the mound, and stood upon the "Camp de Cæsar."

The little rivulet which descends the valley of Wissant divides hills of very different soils; to the south are the subcretaceous formations; all the northern range is calcareous, running out in the well-known promontory of Blanc-nez. From this range of chalk hills a tongue descends into the vale, composed of that particular portion of the lower chalk which in many parts of England bears the name of the white malm. This tongue of land, ending in a considerable mound, with the rivulet not a hundred yards from its base, offers an opportune spot for an entrenchment; and, accordingly, we find its position shaped into an oval of about 400 yards in circumference, with a foss 30 or 40 feet deep surrounding it, except on the west end, where it points towards the sea, and there an entrance is left by an interruption of the excavation. The area, which dishes a little, is cultivated; so is the bottom of the foss; so are the slopes of the hill all round: but the precipitous sides of the rampart remain in grass, and the nature of the malmy soil preserves it well from being levelled into disappearance.

It is evident that a camp of these limited dimensions could have contained but a very small portion of Cæsar's army. In the opinion of my military companion, scarce half a legion could have found accommodation in it; nor is its form at all in accordance with the style of Roman castrametation; and, if we are bound to assign it to Julius Cæsar, we are driven to the conclusion that it was the position merely of that body of troops left behind, and appointed to guard the port during the absence of the main army in Britain: "P. Sulpicium Rufum legatum, cum eo præsidio quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit" [iv. 22].

But my own opinion inclines to a belief that this earthwork is to be

ascribed to the Saxons, whom we know to have been the principal frequenters of the place during the period from 529 to 1327, while Wissant was "le port où l'on s'embarquait habituellement pour passer en Angleterre;" and I am confirmed in this idea by the strong resemblance it bears to the Saxon portion of the entrenchments at Dover Castle. On that celebrated height there is nothing of Roman construction except the Pharos. The *notitia imperii* do certainly speak of a detachment of troops stationed at Dover; but their quarters were doubtless in the valley, where vestiges of their masonry have been occasionally brought to light, and where they would naturally have sought a position "aquationis causâ," beside the limpid waters of the Dour. No possibility of "aquation" could then have existed on the heights, or William the Conqueror would not have expressed such anxiety to have a well sunk there. (Thierry, "Conquête d'Angleterre," liv., iii.) The well-known Saxon entrenchment at Dover Castle is so precisely similar in its oval configuration and in dimensions to that at Wissant, that I do not hesitate to believe them both the work of the same hands and of the same era. They are totally different from the quadrilateral style adopted by the Romans in their encampments, and the absence of masonry proclaims them distinct from the fortresses of the Anglo-Normans. At the *Portus Itius*, Cæsar's army would have occupied an encampment on a very large scale, but intended for temporary purposes only. It stood in all probability on the site of the present village as the most convenient situation in the valley, and its outlines in that sandy soil would have quickly disappeared.

Although it would have been most satisfactory to have found an unquestionable "Camp de Cæsar" at Wissant, yet the absence of so interesting an object does not in any degree prejudice the claim of Wissant to be considered the *Portus Itius* of the Roman conqueror. Impressed with this belief, we stood on the mound and figured to ourselves the spectacle once presented by the valley below, when it was thronged with the legions of Cæsar, and all their various auxiliaries and attendants—the Gaulish and German cavalry, the Numidian light horsemen, the Spanish infantry, the Cretan archers, and the slingers from the Balearic Islands, besides the crowd of sutlers and followers, the "calones" and "mercatores," and all the various costumes and callings connected with the naval portion of the expedition, all destined for the subjugation of an island remote, obscure, and barbarous, but over whose swamps and forests there was then brooding, in expectancy, the genius of an empire wider and mightier than that of the Cæsars. Cæsar had previously taken the precaution of sending the energetic Volusenus in a swift galley to make a reconnaissance of the British coast. He must have been the first civilized being that ever approached our shores, an event not unworthy to have been the subject of a cartoon for the Parliamentary

palace. The Roman warrior, grouped with a few attendants and Gaulish boatmen, might have been represented gazing earnestly at the cliffs covered with the hostile Britons. But his galley, as well as the fleet of Cæsar which followed, doubtless rode at anchor in that part of the bay of Dover now converted into *terra-firma*, and covered with marine parades, crescents, and esplanades: "*Cujus loci hæc erat natura; adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici posset*" [iv. 23]. These were the heights and the dangers, the anticipation of which produced such uneasiness in the minds of their friends at Rome, while the army lay encamped at Wissant. "*Britannici belli exitus expectatur*," says Cicero in one of his letters, "*constat enim aditus insulæ munitos esse mirificis molibus*;" and, writing to his brother Quintus, then one of Cæsar's lieutenants, "*O! jucundas mihi tuas ex Britannia literas! timebam oceanum, timebam litus insulæ!*" "*Quintus frater*" was then meditating an epic poem, the subject of which was to have been the war in Britain. Had this work been completed, and had it descended to our times, what a treat it might have afforded to us! The project met with Cicero's approval, "*Quos tu situs! quas naturas rerum et locorum! quos mores! quas gentes! quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes!*" Nor are the jokes of the day without their interest; as, when he laughs at Trebatius, another of Cæsar's lieutenants, "*homo studiosissimus natandi*," for shirking the expedition and remaining in Gaul, "*Neque in oceano natare voluisti*." This was some of the by-play of the moment, while for the great leader himself a domestic calamity was approaching which gave him the deepest affliction, and was one of the causes of all the miseries of the civil warfare which so soon followed. When in Britain he received the intelligence of the death of his beloved daughter Julia, the wife of Pompey, and was overcome with grief. On the third day he rallied, and resumed his imperial duties; but the bond which united the rivals and bound them to peace was broken:

"—— tu sola furem
Inde virum poteras atque hinc retinere parentem."

Such were some of the emotions which agitated the hearts of a few individuals of the hundred thousand who filled the valley of Wissant. No doubt each man had his share, but for such minor incidents history has no spare space. The few that have been recorded, and have accidentally reached us, acquire additional interest from their rarity, and form agreeable materials for reflection to those who, like us, may delight to repeople the lonely plains of the Portus Itius with the Cæsarean soldiers, whose dust must now be mingling with the soil of France, Spain, and Italy, of Thessaly, Mauritania, and Egypt.

On the occasion of his first expedition, Cæsar had collected at Wissant, besides war galleys, a fleet of eighty transports, enough for

the conveyance of the two legions destined for the subjugation of Britain; eighteen other vessels were wind-bound at a port eight miles distant, which is named the "ulterior portus," and which is not unlikely to have been the little "marina" of Sangate, on the north of Cape Blanc-nez, according to Walckenaer, who states Calais to have been a port of recent creation, besides being beyond the assigned distance, which agrees well enough with the position of Sangate. As a port, in our acceptance of the term, Sangate has fewer pretensions to the appellation than even Wissant; but still it is, and always has been, a small station, and is possessed of convenient sands, and enjoys some protection from the promontory of Blanc-nez. Cæsar sailed from Wissant at the third watch, or at about half-past two o'clock in the morning, and accomplished his voyage in safety; no adverse fortune attended his return, except in the little episode which he records, of two of his transports having been unable to make Wissant, and being carried a little to the southward, "paulo infra." The troops conveyed in them, 300 in number, disembarked, and were marching towards the camp when they were surrounded by the natives, who suddenly collected to the amount of 6,000 men: throwing themselves into an orb, the Romans fought bravely for four hours, when at length they were rescued by the whole of the cavalry, despatched by Cæsar to their assistance. The scene of this event must lie to the south of Cape Grisnez; they would have been concealed by that headland from their comrades in the camp, so long as they were in the valley of Ambleteuse, where they must have landed.

Cæsar's preparations for his second expedition were on a much larger scale, and conducted with a care which evinced the respect he had learnt to entertain for his enemy; the whole winter was spent in the construction of a fleet of transports, and he sent even to Spain for naval stores. All the vessels were ordered to rendezvous "ad Portum Itium, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam trajectum esse cognoverat" [v. 2]. These words prove him to have availed himself of the same port on the preceding year, although on that occasion he had not named it. For five-and-twenty days he was detained by a contrary wind called *Corus*, which blew from the north-west; but having at length obtained favourable weather, he crossed the Channel with a fleet of more than 800 sail, and an army of about 40,000 men. Deal, which has often been the point of the departure or the return of our expeditionary armaments, has rarely, if ever, witnessed so formidable a force assembled on its shore. The good fortune of Cæsar attended him; some accidents occurred, but they were overcome by his dauntless energy, and he again returned to Gaul in safety. "Sic accidit, uti ex tanto navium numero, tot navigationibus, neque hoc, neque superiore anno, ulla omnino navis quæ milites portaret desideratur" [v. 23].

It formed no part of our business to investigate Cæsar's military

operations in Britain, nor will I further advert to them than merely to record my protest against the Coway Stakes theory, and all the hypothetical passages of the Thames at that fanciful locality. Cæsar undoubtedly followed the usual and most obvious road, the famous Watling Street of after times ; this would have conducted him to the banks of the Thames at London, where a ford, although a difficult and perhaps only an occasional one, was to be found, but which before the existence of the bridges might have been more practicable than we are at present disposed to believe. We know that this passage of the Thames by the Cæsarean forces occurred in the second of two extremely dry summers, of which the droughts (*siccitates*) are especially noted in the "Commentaries"; and even now in similar seasons the river becomes fordable at Westminster, as it was on the 19th of this very month, July, 1846.

H. L. L.

THE TIME OF CÆSAR'S INVASION.

[1866, *Part II.*, pp. 186-189.]

I have read in the last number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* your review of the Emperor Napoleon's "Life of Julius Cæsar."

As a diversity of opinion prevails respecting the time of Cæsar's first invasion of Britain, his Imperial Majesty assigning that event to the 25th August, 55 B.C., and believing that date is erroneous, may I ask the favour of a small corner of your interesting miscellany whilst I state the grounds of my belief, and at the same time show you the *modus operandi* by which I arrive at that conclusion?

Before proceeding any further, I may observe, and the fact must be borne in mind, that in the historical dating of events there is no year A.D. 0. The year immediately previous to A.D. 1 is always called B.C. 1, in civil time, which is the system of reckoning adopted in history. Hence, in computing chronological and astronomical intervals, the nominal year B.C. must be diminished by 1, which is then called astronomical time. Applying this rule to the present case, we find that $(54 + 1865 =)$ 1,919 years have elapsed since Cæsar's descent on Britain ; and that the 1920th year is current, but will not be completed until August next.

It is agreed by all our best historians, and the fact is confirmed in part at least by Cæsar himself, that his first expedition into Britain was in the consulate of Pompey and Crassus, in the 699th year of Rome, which corresponds with the 55th year before the Christian era. And, respecting the time of the year, and the places of embarkation and landing, Cæsar expressly says "that but a small part of the summer remained;" that the port from which he sailed was that "from whence the passage into Britain is the shortest;" that he sailed from the Gallic port about one o'clock in the morning with 80 transports, carrying about two legions of foot ; that the cavalry were shipped in

18 transports at another port eight miles off, but detained there by a contrary wind ; that Cæsar arrived on the coast of Britain about ten o'clock in the forenoon, where he saw the enemy in arms upon the rising grounds ; that the nature of the place was such, that the sea being bounded by steep rocks, the enemy might easily throw their darts upon them from above ; that thinking this not a convenient place to land his troops, he anchored his vessels, resolving to lie by and wait the arrival of the rest of his fleet ; that after waiting until the ninth hour of the day, namely, till three o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour, both wind and tide being favourable, although the cavalry had not arrived, he weighed anchor and sailed about eight miles farther (Chambers' edition of "Cæsar's Commentaries" says seven), until he came to a plain and open shore, where Cæsar ordered his ships to lie, and where he landed his legions, not without considerable opposition.

From the whole description, there is no doubt but that Dover was the place in front of which Cæsar arrived about the fourth hour of the day, that is, at ten o'clock in the morning, and lay at anchor until three o'clock in the afternoon. It is also evident that the plain and level shore where he effected a landing was north of that place, between the South Foreland and Deal. At Dover the cliffs are remarkably high and perpendicular, and thus continue northward, but gradually decrease in height, until near Walmer, where the cliffs terminate, and the beach or level shore commences, and continues as far as Sandown Castle, about a mile and a half further northward, where the sandhills commence. These cover a tract of land extending from the beach into the country, upon an average of about half a mile, and along the shore northward almost to the mouth of the river Stour, or entrance into Sandwich Haven, nearly two miles further. They form a barren and very rugged tract, being composed of heaps of loose sand.

Cæsar next informs us, "that upon the fourth day after his arrival in Britain, the eighteen transports appointed to convey the cavalry put to sea with a gentle gale. But when they had so near approached the coast as to be even within view of Cæsar's camp," which must have been pitched upon the spot occupied in after times by the famous Roman station *Rutupiæ*, more commonly called Richborough, situate on an eminence about a mile and a half to the northward of the town of Sandwich, on the eastern coast of Kent, "so violent a storm all on a sudden arose that being unable to hold on their course, some were obliged to return to the place or port whence they set out, and others driven to the lower end of the island westward, not without great danger ; there they cast their anchor, but the waves rising very high, so as to fill the ships with water, they were again, in the night, obliged to stand out to sea and make for the continent of Gaul. That very night it happened to be full moon, when the tides upon the

sea-coast always rise highest, a thing at that time wholly unknown to the Romans." (Cæsar's "Commentaries," by Duncan, vol. i., p. 125.)

This allusion to the full moon, taken with Cæsar's other expressions that on the eve of his expedition but a small portion of the summer remained; that during his short stay in Britain it was harvest time; and that the equinox was coming on, enables us to determine the very day, and almost the very hour, when he first landed, with a good deal of certainty. It cannot have been in July, because in the year 55 B.C. the full moon fell on the third day at oh. 38m. a.m. mean time, and consequently too early on in the summer; neither could it have been the full moon falling on the 1st of August at twenty-two minutes past one o'clock p.m., which Cæsar refers to, because even then a considerable part of the summer still remained; and as Cæsar returned to the continent before the equinox, which then happened about the 25th of September, it is quite plain that the full moon in question must have occurred on or about the very last day of August, the exact mean time of which may be ascertained by the following rules.

How to find the times of new or full moon in any year B.C. without the aid of astronomical tables :

1. Convert the civil year B.C., or that used in history, into astronomical time, which is done by subtracting 1 from the number of the civil year B.C.

2. Add the number of the astronomical year B.C. to any given year A.D. from which you desire to calculate or make your starting point.

3. Reduce their sum into days according to the Julian system or old style; be careful in accounting for the correct number of leap years.

4. Divide the number of days so found by an average or mean lunation, 29'5305887 days: the quotient shows the number of lunations past, and the remainder is the fractional part of another lunation, which reduce into days, hours, and minutes, as well as seconds, if thought necessary.

5. Add the number of days, hours, and minutes so found, to the time of the nearest corresponding new or full moon, also in old style, in any given year A.D. which may be ascertained from any current almanack; and then finally,

6. Allowance must be made for the moon's accelerated motion. This is a portion of time small in its annual measure, and scarcely worth noticing in periods not exceeding 200 or 300 years, but amounting to a considerable quantity when extended into remote centuries. The quantity of acceleration is not determinable exactly by any simple rule; but a near approximation thereto, and one that will not vary more than a minute and a half from the truth in twenty-five centuries, and consequently sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes, may

be obtained by multiplying the square of the number of centuries past by 20·5 seconds. Add the product thus found to the preceding operation, and the final result is the time of the new or full moon in the required month and year B.C.

In accordance with these instructions, let us ascertain the time of the full moon at the end of August, 55 B.C.

(1) $55 - 1 = 54$ Astronomical year.

(2) $54 + 1865 = 1919$ years elapsed.

(3) In 1919 Julian years there are 480 leap years, viz. : 14 before and 466 after Christ. Then $1919 \times 365 + 480 = 700,915$ days.

(4) $700,915 \div 29 \cdot 5305887 = 23,735$ lunations past, and remainder $6 \cdot 4772955$ days = 6 days, 11 hours, and 27 minutes.

	days.	hrs.	min.
(5) To the time of full moon in A.D. 1865, Sept. 5,			
but when reduced to old style is August	-	-	-
Add, as per rule 4	-	-	-
	24	13	52
	6	11	27
August	-	-	-
(6) Add for the moon's accelerated motion 19·19	31	1	19
$\times 19 \cdot 19 \times 20 \cdot 5$ seconds	-	-	-
	0	2	5
Full moon, 55 B.C., August	31	3	24

Hence it appears the full moon in question happened on the 31st August, at twenty-four minutes past three o'clock in the morning, civil time. According to my manuscript perpetual almanack, which amongst other things contains a concise and very simple table and rules for finding the mean times of new and full moon for any year before or after the Christian era, the Cæsarean full moon fell on August 31st, at seven minutes past two o'clock a.m. Professor De Morgan's "Book of Almanacs," an excellent work, which professes "to supply a short and easy method of calculating, always within two hours, and usually within less, the times of new and full moon for any month of any year from B.C. 2000 to A.D. 2000," says it occurred on August 31st, at three o'clock in the morning.

If Cæsar had told us he landed in Britain on the fourth day before the full moon I should have had no hesitation in assigning that event to Monday, August 28, 55 B.C., because the Romans, in counting days, always included both the one from which they started and the one down to which they reckoned. But as the cavalry sailed on the fourth day after his arrival, and got within sight of Cæsar's camp, and encountered the storm which came on the same afternoon or evening, and the very night of this disaster was the night of the full moon, it is evident from the tenour of the narrative that the fourth day must be calculated from August 30. Hence the exact date of his landing in England was not on Friday, the 25th August, as stated by the

Emperor Napoleon, and subsequently copied into the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but on Sunday, the 27th of that month.

Having ascertained the exact day of the month, all we have to determine is the state of the tide at three o'clock p.m. on the day in question. Now, in nautical works, the "Establishment" of Dover—that is, the mean time of high water immediately after a new or full moon—is set down at 11 hours 12 minutes, which in the present instance would be the morning tide on August 31st; and if we allow ($52\cdot7 \text{ minutes} \times 4 =$) 3 hours and 30 minutes for the difference in time of the moon's southing in four days, the mean time of high water on August 27th was 7 hours 42 minutes a.m.; hence it would be low water at 1 hour 42 minutes in the afternoon. Therefore, by three o'clock p.m. there would be an hour and a quarter's flood, and as the flood tide sets to the north at Dover, and as Cæsar says both wind and tide were favourable, it is as plain almost as a proposition in Euclid that he must have sailed seven or eight miles in a northerly direction from that place (for be it remembered the tide at that very time was contrary in every other direction), which would occupy perhaps two hours or less if the wind was brisk. This brings us to five o'clock, leaving still plenty of time for Cæsar to disembark his forces on the "plain and open shore" in the immediate neighbourhood of Deal, or between Walmer and Sandown castles, even before high water, which on that evening would be at 8 hours 8 minutes mean time.

Dr. Halley, in an elaborate paper read before the Royal Society so long ago as 1691, and published in the "Philosophical Transactions," No. 193, observes "that the full moon spoken of was on August 30th, after midnight, or the 31st, in the morning before day, and that Cæsar's landing in Britain was on August 26th, in the afternoon." The Doctor, who is evidently wrong as to the day of Cæsar's landing, says, "It was high water at Dover about eight o'clock in the morning on August 26th, and consequently low water about two in the afternoon."

Another writer upon this very subject in the *Mechanics' Magazine* for May, 1827, has essayed to calculate the time of the full moon, which he says occurred on August 27th, at 10 hours 51 minutes p.m., and adds that Cæsar landed on the 23rd August, 55 B.C., on which day it was low water at Dover at 2 hours 8 minutes p.m.

I should not have noticed the last-named article, which is so far from the truth, were it not that I have seen it quoted as an authority! I also feel reluctant to disturb the conclusion arrived at by such a profound mathematician as Dr. Halley, whose error as to the day must have been made through inadvertence, and acquiesced in by such eminent antiquaries and historians as Horsley and Lingard; but a strict adherence to historic truth leaves me no other alternative.

It may be proper to add that the Julian Kalendar was not settled

till ten years after Cæsar's first expedition into Britain; namely, in the year 45 B.C.; but as near as I can judge from all the circumstances of the history, Cæsar's reckoning is much the same as it would have been if the settlement of his Kalendar had been made before his descent on England.

I am, etc., ROBERT ROBSON.

CÆSAR'S CANTIAN CAMPAIGNS.

[1846, *Part II.*, pp. 585-594.]

In the September number of your magazine, your correspondent "H. L. L.," in his article upon "Cæsar's Invasion of Britain," protested "against the Coway Stakes theory, and all the hypothetical passages of the Thames at that fanciful locality" [*ante*, p. 515], but not for the reasons advanced in the letter I addressed to you on the "Contest of Cæsar and Caswallon" (inserted in April, 1844). [See Note 48.]

Since the publication of that paper I have made many more discoveries* of Kentish aboriginal remains, invariably confirmatory of the opinion I then mooted. By the majority of antiquaries it is now admitted that at the period of Cæsar's invasions of this country the Britons were not in the state of savage barbarism represented by the Romans; nay, by some it is maintained that the Britons, on the contrary, were in a highly civilized condition, and in constant communication with the most polished states of the East: to which opinion I admit I incline. Even the evidence furnished by the Commentaries proves that, instead of Cæsar's Cantian campaigns being crowned with success, he was most disgracefully beaten, and his armies nearly annihilated by the Kentishmen. The plausible reason assigned by the Roman general in his autobiographical account for his invasion of Britain, is that the islanders furnished naval assistance to the Veneti. A cause much more probable than the supposition of Suetonius, that he came over with the sordid intent of gathering pearls, one of the then chief items of British export.

No matter what were the motives, Cæsar resolved to attempt the subjection of the island, and early in the spring of 55 B.C. he commenced the construction of transports for his troops. Upon the 25th of August of that year, his preparations being completed, he embarked his men at Wissant (the port so ably described by "H. L. L." in your September magazine [*ante*, p. 507]), and departed from the Continent "about the third watch of the night, with a good gale, to the sea." Fortunately for him his vessels escaped or passed through the British fleet without being attacked.

I fully agree with the Rev. Beale Post that Cæsar first made the

* Notices of these discoveries (as portions of this article) have at various times appeared in the *Dover Chronicle*, *Kentish Independent*, and *Maidstone Journal*; the paragraphs have been collected, and, with additions, are placed in consecutive order before the readers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

land off Folkestone, where he found not only the shores strongly protected by fortifications, but an enormous and well-disciplined army assembled to dispute the disembarkation of the Romans. For the Britons, informed of Cæsar's projected invasion, had levied forces and given the command to the experienced Cean Caswallon. The landing in face of these obstacles was a task of great difficulty, and it was not till after various repulses that the Romans finally succeeded in their object on the coast at Lymne, at a late hour of the 26th of August. Wearied by their mutual exertions, the two armies reposed for the night nearly opposite each other. The next day the engagement was renewed, and terminated, after a sanguinary engagement, slightly to the advantage of the Romans. Consequent upon this partial success, some of the Ceans withdrew from the British confederacy, and endeavoured to make terms for themselves with Cæsar. Three days afterwards the remainder of the Roman army, consisting of the cavalry, was seen off the harbour, followed by the British fleet. The latter unhesitatingly attacked the Roman transports, and not only routed, but utterly prevented even one of them landing their freight. Successful in this attempt, the Britons next destroyed, in the face of the foe, the galleys the Romans had carefully drawn up on the beach for safety. Cæsar, however (wilfully misrepresenting, after the fashion of Napoleon's lying bulletins), attributed this untoward affair to the effect of a storm! Animated by victory, the British Ceans withdrew from the camp the Romans had fortified upon the seacoast, and, having ascertained how small was the number of their opponents, and noted their deficiencies in military stores, again joined their confederated countrymen. As the supply of provisions was insufficient, Cæsar, on September the 18th, sent a portion of his troops upon a foraging expedition to a field two miles distant, where he had been informed the corn was unreaped.

Had not Cæsar fairly admitted that the county of Kent was densely populated and highly cultivated, it would, nevertheless, have been apparent from his narration, since he describes the field his army plundered as furnishing sufficient forage for its sustenance. It is difficult to consider otherwise than that this field had been left as a bait, to attract the Romans into an ambuscade. Whether such was or not a portion of Caswallon's strategical plans, it is evident that it answered that purpose, and the Romans were snared by it, and if not nearly destroyed most disgracefully beaten, after a bloody slaughter. It is clear, too, that the corn reaped from the other lands must have been hoarded at no great distance, or else the commissariat department of the Britons was most satisfactorily managed; otherwise how could the British chief have provisioned the vast troops of horses necessary to draw the chariots, in addition to his enormous army, before Cæsar first gave it battle?

Anticipating an attack upon the foraging-party, one half the Roman

army was actually employed in the expedition. Undeterred by the superior discipline of the invaders, the Britons surrounded and nearly annihilated them in a desperate and sanguinary attack. Clouds of dust gave Cæsar an inkling of the battle, to which he hurried, with the two cohorts on duty in the camp, ordering the remainder of his forces to arm and follow. Arrived at the scene of action, he found the defeat of the Romans decisive, hardly a man of the seventh legion escaping to relate the disastrous tale. The field was covered with the dying and dead, and overrun with the chariots and cavalry of the victorious Britons. Having rescued the few exhausted survivors, he retraced his steps; and, pursued by his unrelenting foes, with difficulty reached the shelter of his camp. Quite aware after this battle that his position in Britain was no longer tenable, he embarked the miserable skeleton of his army (300 men) in two transports, and sailed away at midnight.

Thus terminated, after three weeks' stay, Cæsar's first and much vaunted expedition into Britain, which, though extolled most highly in Rome as a glorious and wonderful exploit, was no more than the discovery of a landing-place, and the certain knowledge that the islanders would not tamely surrender their freedom. The topography of the country at the period of this campaign is so imperfectly known, and the details which have reached us are so incomplete, that a connected or accurate account of the operations of the Romans is impossible. But there can be no doubt as to the result of the expedition—Cæsar's army everywhere encountered the fiercest resistance. It subdued no more than the ground it stood upon, and, after having advanced at the most six miles into the interior, and fought several engagements, was compelled, after suffering enormous losses of men, and the whole of the matériel, to flee ignominiously, under cover of night, to the Continent.

B.C. 54. Exasperated at the ill-success of his first Cantian campaign, Cæsar, immediately after his return to Gaul, directed his lieutenants to prepare a new armament for the subjugation of Britain. He ordered the vessels to be constructed in a peculiar form, better adapted for conveying horses than those he had previously used. We also gather from his details that, in consequence of troubles in Kent, Mandubratius, the son of Imanuentius, the Cean of the Trinobantes, had been banished from his country, and, sacrificing his patriotism, sought service as a spy or guide in the Roman ranks. The arrangements being concluded, Cæsar, August 18th, embarked at the Portus Itius a force of 32,000 men in 800 vessels. About sunset he weighed anchor, and, advancing with a gentle wind, continued his course till midnight, when he found himself becalmed; but the tide still urging him on, at daybreak he saw Britain on his left. When again following the return of the tide, he rowed with all his might to reach that part of the island he had marked out

the preceding year as the most convenient for landing ; and on this occasion he commends exceedingly the diligence of the soldiers, who, labouring incessantly at the oar, urged the transports so swiftly that they equalled the course of the galleys. At length, Cæsar, having arrived off Lymne, was permitted by the natives to uninterruptedly disembark.

Becoming acquainted, through some prisoners he captured, with the place of concealment of the Britons, or, what is more likely, being informed by the traitor Mandubratius of the situation of Dourwhern, the largest city near the coast, which, as being also the site of a celebrated sanctuary, was a place likely to be protected. Leaving ten cohorts and three hundred horse under the command of Q. Atrius, to guard the fleet, about midnight the active and indefatigable Cæsar set out with the rest of his army in quest of the enemy, being under the less concern for his ships, because he had left them at anchor on a smooth and open shore, apparently secure from any danger of surprise.

After a fatiguing night march of twelve hours, Cæsar came in sight of the British army posted behind the river Stour, near Chartham, from which strong position they attacked the foe, and endeavoured to prevent their crossing the river ; but being repulsed by the Roman cavalry, they retired towards some woods, into a place strongly fortified by nature and art, the adits being blocked up with an abatis of trees, which Cæsar imagined had been prepared before on some occasion of internal civil war, "for all the avenues were secured by strong barricades of felled trees piled upon one another." Strong as was this fortress, the soldiers of the seventh legion raised an earth-work, and, advancing under cover of their shields, carried the position, and drove the Britons away. Cæsar forbade pursuit, the day (August 20th) being spent, and employed the men in rendering the encampment subservient to his use.

Early next morning Cæsar prepared to assume the offensive ; and, having divided his army into three divisions, sent them in search of the enemy. Scarcely had the eagles approached within sight of the Britons than a messenger arrived from the camp on the shore, with the untoward intelligence that during the night a terrific tempest had arisen and totally wrecked the fleet. Recalling his troops, Cæsar returned to the sea-coast with his legions. The misfortune he there beheld was great ; forty vessels irretrievably lost, and the rest so damaged that they seemed hardly reparable. With his characteristic energy, he set all the carpenters in his army to work, and sent despatches to Labienus, ordering him to build in Gaul as many ships as possible. Determined, however, to suffer no more losses by allowing his fleet to continue riding at anchor, he resolved that all his ships should be drawn up on dry land, and enclosed within a naval camp. This laborious and difficult achievement was accom-

plished in ten days and nights by the vigorous and incessant toil of the whole army.

It is not my intention now to follow Cæsar step by step from his landing upon the Kentish shore. I shall therefore confine myself to the indication of his route, briefly enumerating the modern names of the parishes he passed through, and adding a few explanatory topographical comments. Thus, after landing at Lymne, he proceeded to Dourwhern, afterwards Dorobernium, and now Canterbury. The site of the British town was on the heights near St. Martin's Church. It was here he received the account of the attack of the British fleet, which he has been pleased to put down to the account of a storm. A storm ! why, if it had been a stormy night, it would have had some effect upon his land operations ; and, as he is particularly minute and explicit upon the subject, he would certainly not have omitted to record the occurrence. The truth is, that his galleys and transports, being propelled by banks of oars, had outstripped the slow sailing vessels of the British, precisely as steam vessels beat men-of-war ; but when the tug of battle and the trial of strength between the two came on, the Roman galleys were found as little able to cope with the heavier and better-manned British vessels,* as they had been off the coast of Armorica with the Veneti. The weakest were therefore driven upon the shore, and it was only by the rapid retrogression of the Roman army that Cæsar was at all enabled to wrest the remnants of his craft from his determined foemen. The only safe method left him to adopt was to draw the fragments into a land camp, and this took his whole force, after incredible labour, ten days. It is not to be imagined that even this was tamely allowed by the Britons ; on the contrary, they harassed him by every means in their power alike by day and night.

Having thus secured his fleet, and left it under secure guard as before, in the beginning of September he again proceeded inland, in search of Caswallon, who had employed the interval in strengthening the confederacy and increasing his army. During this march along the British trackway to Dourwhern, the British cavalry, supported by their chariots, daringly attacked the Roman horse, who, to protect the infantry, had more than once to make sorties from their direct line.

As soon as the hostile armies approached each other they began to skirmish. The British horse and chariots vigorously attacked the Roman cavalry, but, pretending to be repulsed, the feint deceived the Romans, who, being out-manœuvred, received a serious check. Sallying from another point on the wearied soldiers, while intent upon making secure their night encampment, they utterly destroyed the advanced guard. Cæsar sent the two first cohorts of the legions

* Cæsar admits that the Roman fleet under young Brutus knew not how to attack the lofty ships of the Veneti, and of course their British allies.

to their aid. (These were not only more numerous than the others, but usually consisted of the bravest men.) The Britons charged them in several bodies, broke through their ranks, and routed them ere they recovered from the panic in which they were thrown by so novel a mode of fighting, and then retired without loss. Quintus Laberius Durus, a military tribune, was slain; and, but for the opportune arrival of some fresh cohorts, the conflict would have terminated in the utter rout of the Roman forces. Cæsar, his own despatch writer, is here rather partial, and, by a confused narrative, endeavours to gloss over the truth, and cloak from the public eye the fact that the major part of his army was thoroughly beaten.

The next day Cæsar fancied that the Britons were rather more fearful of encountering his legions, because, he says, they stationed themselves far off, upon the hills, and appeared but sparingly, not skirmishing with the Roman horse as heretofore. So about noon Cæsar sent out three legions and all the cavalry to forage. Hardly had they commenced than the Britons furiously fell upon them, attacking them from all quarters, and Cæsar, apparently astonished at their effrontery, naïvely says, "they even attacked the legions and standards." The Romans now feeling that "they must do or die," returned to the charge and repulsed them. The cavalry, finding themselves supported by the infantry, fought so desperately that they routed the Britons with great slaughter, "and continued the pursuit till they had utterly broken them, insomuch that great numbers being slain, they could neither find an opportunity to rally, descend from their chariots, or face about to make resistance."

I coincide with Cozens, Hasted, Dr. Plot, and the Rev. Mr. Harris, that the spot where Quintus Laberius Durus was slain was at Chartham Downs.

Canterbury was then a town of magnitude, of which the "Dûn John" is an imperishable record. Dûn is a Celtic word signifying a "height." The final syllable is expressive of a *fortification*, rendering the whole word the *fortified mound* or *height*. It had been erected by the Belgæ after their seizure of this part of Kent, to keep the aborigines in subjection. This town was afterwards, from the superior advantages it presented, selected by Aulus Plautius for the site of a Roman station.

But I most decidedly differ with those learned antiquaries as to the route by which Cæsar marched to it. Unfortunately they did not allow sufficiently for the great changes the Kentish coast has undergone during even the last thousand years, and took for granted Cæsar first made Dover, and then proceeded to Deal, where he landed.

Such, however, was not the case, as I have previously stated. The land he first made was Folkestone, and his disembarkation was at Lymne; and thence, under the guidance of Mandubratius, by the

Stone Street, passing through the parishes now called Stowting, Elmstead, Thanington, and Canterbury.

In every one of these parishes can the road still be traced, and Cæsar's line of march was thence through the following places: Wye, Charing, Lenham, Harrietsham, Hucking, and Debtling.* The route is far from being straight; but we must bear in mind that the British roads were not so undeviating as they were after the Romans' alterations, but rather frequently diverged to the densely populated British towns that were so numerous in both East and West Kent: besides, they were formed according to the British plan of skirting the chain of hills; and traces of the road may even still be perceived by reference to the map; and it is quite certain that Cæsar availed himself of the existing roads† from the sea-coast.

THE FORD OF THE TAM VS. ‡—Now the question here is, whether Cæsar called that the river Thames which we do now? I answer, No; and the reason is, our Thames does not correspond to Cæsar's Thames, whereas the Medway agrees with his description. The Medway divides the county into "two parts, and that, too, at the distance of about 80 miles from the sea," Dr. Owen says, "following the course of the river; but I would rather maintain that Cæsar reckoned his marchings and countermarchings, and so, by an approximation, made the distance about 80 miles. In this view the account is clear, and conformable to fact; but the Coway Stakes rendering of Camden is absurd, and contradicts fact. For to say that the river Thames, at the distance of 80 miles from the sea, or above London, divides Middlesex from the maritime states of Kent, sounds to me [Dr. Owen] not a jot more rational than it would be to say that Blackheath is a promontory. Besides, the Thames there does not touch Kent." With these observations I perfectly agree.

Again, had Cæsar crossed our Thames he would not have totally omitted recording his previous passage of the Medway, inasmuch as it was a river of much greater extent and magnitude than the Stour, and covered the whole of the valley between the rising grounds.

Again, "Plantagenet" (Dr. Bromet), in remarking upon an article of mine in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the July number, 1844 [see Note 49], says, "The great question, however, and the only one which

* In the parish of Debtling a few years since some entrenched embankments were discovered at a distance of two miles in the direction of Bredhurst. They formed nearly a square, with a double vallum on the north side. This was probably the spot selected for his encampment the night before he forced the passage of the ford.

† During the railway mania of 1845, a "line" was projected by this very route to London. I think it was called Sir John Rennie's plan.

‡ In Domesday Book, Elesford, the ford of Eccles, an ancient village near Aylesford, is called Aiglessa. Tradition still speaks of it having been a strong and populous town, the cottages occupying its site being chiefly built of stones from the foundation of its primitive houses.—Allport's "Maidstone," p. 17.

has been commented on with any due attention, although hitherto unsatisfactorily, is, whether the river Tamisis, which in the Celtic language merely signifies "winding water," be really our Thames, or whether it be not the Medway, or, as held by some, a river in Surrey or Sussex, and at what precise spot eighty Roman miles from the sea, its only (so Cæsar says) fordable part, he passed such river, and whether these 80 miles are to be reckoned as the crow flies, or according to the direction taken by the retreating Britons."

However, after a careful re-consideration of all circumstances, I am quite confirmed in the opinion that I am perfectly justified at placing the spot where Cæsar crossed the Tam ys to be just below Kits Coty House.

Cæsar writes, § 13, "After the defeat of Caswallon," that is, the battle near Canterbury, "the British auxiliary troops, which had come in from all parts, returned severally to their homes, nor did the enemy appear any more against us with their whole forces." In confirmation of this plain unvarnished sentence, Cæsar goes on to state, after a most curious confusion of paragraphs, which he doubtless did purposely with a view of mystifying his readers, "That Caswallon disbanded the remainder of his forces, with the exception of about four thousand *essedarii*, or chariots, which he retained with him to watch Cæsar's proceedings, and to prevent his foraging parties making successful excursions." If Cæsar's version be here true, he ought for *disbanded*, to have written, Caswallon's men had *deserted*. But I do not consider this the fact, because I find by the actual preceding paragraph that the Britons had advanced to protect the ford. The astonishing number of chariots indisputably proves the density of the population, no less than their riches and civilization; it also clearly shows that good roads must have intersected the country, else how otherwise could they have travelled to the seat of war, and how hovered upon the march, harrying the Roman legions? It also shows that Caswallon rightly imagined that Cæsar would endeavour to make an excursion into the heart of the county of Kent, by what was, par excellence, the Great Road (the Watling Street), that being the road leading to the Druid temple, near the cromlech now called Kits Coty House, to counteract which Caswallon detached all the forces he could spare, to assist in making obstacles to the passage of the ford, through which the road lay to the interior.

Cæsar goes on to state, § 14, "That he, perceiving their design [the Britons, I suppose, but he does not deign to specify what their design was, neither can I infer], marched towards the Thames from Dourwhern, to penetrate into the kingdom of Caswallon."

Arrived on that river's brink, which, unconfined by barriers, spread over the whole face of the valley, and was only fordable with difficulty at one spot, Cæsar found the army of Caswallon strongly posted on the opposite side, determined to oppose the invaders of their

country, and bravely die adjoining their holy places. They had likewise secured the banks with sharp stakes. That this was the place is most probable, and that the Druid priesthood, moreover, lent all their aid to influence the combatants, may easily be conceived. The Druids, most likely, too, were the instigators of "the securing the banks with sharp stakes, as well as the driving many of the same kind into the bed of the river, so as to be covered with the water."

"Being informed of this by some prisoners and deserters," Cæsar "sent the cavalry before, ordering the legions to follow close after, which they did with so much expedition and briskness, though nothing but their heads were above the water, that the enemy, unable to sustain the charge, quitted the battle ground, and betook themselves to flight." Knowing what the Druidical tenets were, it is impossible wholly to credit this specious statement. It is not for a moment probable that the sacred shrines were so readily abandoned to destruction, nor is it feasible that the Druid priests, a warlike race, were so forgetful of the tenets they taught, and so cowardly, as not to have excited, by all the means and appliances in their power, the natives to make a stand for the rites of their faith.

With all their efforts, however, the Britons were unable to withstand the war-trained legions of Rome, and Cæsar was victorious in this affair, and crossed the river. Consequent upon his success was the submission of the Cenimagni, whose tribe was situate on the site of the present Aylesford, and in whose territories were comprised the Druidical fanes previously mentioned.

Cæsar, as we have already said, tells us that he was conducted by a traitor named Mandubratius, who, to be made king of the Trinobantes, a generic name for "a powerful and warlike people," betrayed his country. To reach this state, which we conceive comprised the hundred of Hoo, the Romans diverged from the main trackway they had previously pursued, and marched past Snodland, and thence to the borders of the peninsula, where they were met by ambassadors, who submitted, and on the part of the people undertook to receive Mandubratius for their king, and, as a pledge of their future good conduct, promised to send supplies of provisions and forty hostages.

Cæsar tells us that during the preceding marches the Trinobantes sent ambassadors to solicit peace, which he granted them, on condition that they accepted Mandubratius for their king, to which they consented. Mandubratius, immediately after his elevation, sent Cæsar supplies of corn, which plainly shows that the Trinobantes could not have been far distant from the invading forces (§ xvi.).

That the State of the Trinobantes was in the hundred of Hoo is evident, otherwise it could not be possible for Cæsar, during his advance into the country, to have received ambassadors, who had then to return and collect forty hostages, and procure from perchance north, east, west, and south sufficient corn for the sustenance of the

Roman troops, if they had been situate at a greater distance, and across a mighty river like the Thames, as many antiquaries have maintained, without a shadow of reason.

The easy terms acceded to the Trinobantes, added to the defeat of Caswallon at the ford, induced some other tribes or clans to send in their allegiance.

After bestowing upon Mandubratius the government of the State of the Trinobantes, and receiving forty hostages, Cæsar marched to Thong.

In 1825 some labourers, while grubbing up a piece of Clay Lane Wood, came upon an entrenchment, in the centre of which they discovered at the very least three waggon loads of human bones, mingled with leather, many metal celts, spear-heads, and armour, the latter in such preservation that a suit was actually put on by one of the labourers, who was living in 1845. The bones were collected and thrown into the surrounding fosse; the earth which composed the vallum was then thrown over them, and the soil levelled.

Some of the celts, several portions of the armour, and pieces of the weapons, are preserved in a museum at Gravesend. The armour was taken to Cobham Hall by the finders, who expected a handsome reward for their pains; but the then noble owner, being no archæologist, ordered the men some refreshment and told them "to take their rubbish away." After this rebuff, and knowing no collectors of antiquities, they sorted out the metal, and, after breaking it into pieces, sold above a bushel of it to Mr. Troughton, late a Mayor of Gravesend, who consigned it to the melting-pot. So bright was the metal that one of the celts was actually tested by fire, to see if it was not gold, and it still bears the marks of this ill-usage. The discovery of these relics, Roman and British, mingled together, clearly demonstrates that here an engagement took place, and that Thong was in Cæsar's line of march; because we know that the Romans under Aulus Plautius occupied this county without opposition, and these remains most satisfactorily prove that an engagement between the Romans and the Britons occurred on the spot. The mass of osseous remnants, and the British weapons, with Roman armour, incontestibly show that after the battle the slain were indiscriminately interred. Here, too, Cæsar awaited and received the supplies of corn and hostages promised from the Trinobantes.

Following the trackway or road, Cæsar marched to the British town on Wingfield Bank, and, for the refreshment of his troops, halted at the only spring of fresh water they had passed since they had left the Medway.

After reducing this Belgic-British town, Cæsar bivouacked on the spot now known as Col-Harbour, in Northfleet parish, the heights immediately adjoining Springhead. The following morning he crossed

the valley, which on the western side was very woody.* From the well-known bravery of the Druid priesthood, and their possession of a school, and accompanying sacred groves, on these heights, now called Highfield, it can be hardly supposed otherwise than that he was here necessitated to fight a battle, which it is probable detained him here till the ensuing day, and compelled him to encamp in the magnificent still existing earthworks in Stoncpark Wood.

This camp consists of three neatly oval valla and fosses, even now in places 8 feet high. In a subsequent invasion by the Danes this camp was altered by that people, in accordance with their ideas of castrametation.

At the northernmost extremity of this British town, near the church of Swanscombe, on Mr. Russell's farm, still exists a mighty earthwork, called "The Folly."† The etymology of this word is evidently Celtic, and the final syllable is most probably a corruption of the

* "A traveller" in 1803, writes in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year, "in the bosom of this wood" (it is now, owing to the disforestation, outside of the wood), "part of which is said to be in Southfleet parish, is a wonderful cavern, divided into detached cells, or apartments, excavated from a hill of chalk [sand?] facing the south, at the bottom of which you enter it. This is probably of very remote antiquity. The woodmen tell you that once in thirty years, or thereabouts, the rage to see it rises in the minds of the neighbouring villagers; and they make parties to go and regale there, taking lights that they may find their way out. Our guide has not been down there for thirty years, but he says he then saw names and dates thirty years back." The "traveller" gives a very far-fetched version of the origin of the name, as follows: "The last owner was a terrific kidnapper or freebooter, who may have lived probably many hundred years ago, and whose name seems to originate, like many other proper names of old, from his possessions, caer l'arbre [? long before the Normans!!], the dwelling or habitation in the wood or trees, and now by colloquial shortening becomes Clabber, to which they add his profession, napper; and Clabber Napper's Hole has been the terror of the rising generations, possibly ever since the time of our great Alfred." The Anglo-Saxons at that period most likely knew more Danish than French. "There was formerly known, as I am well informed, a similar cave in the extremity of the chalk cliffs near to where Gravesend is now built, and subject to the same marauder. They go so far as to say, that there was an underground intercourse between them (four miles!); but unless we were assured that Clabber Napper was a monk, I would not believe it. The present appearance of this cave is, that its entrance, which was sloping downwards, has now a foss of ten or more feet deep; and even its principal cavity is a well-like hole, which the guide judiciously considered was a fall of the earth over the crown of the cavity. He said the people called it his chimney, widened by the operations of time." Now, the very pronunciation shows its etymology to have been of Celtic origin. As all names of places are, to a certain extent, arbitrary, we can but trace the meanings of the separate syllables. The first is evidently from *Clo*, locked or shut in; which, again, is a compound of *can*, an inclosure. *Llai* is *lese*, from *le-is* or *es*, the lower place. *Ber*, the final syllable *er*, water; to which the letter *b*, signifying life, motion, etc., being prefixed, makes *ber*, spring water. Perhaps theoretically rendering as an explanation of "Caerberlarber" (the present name the cavern bears), what it certainly is geographically, an inclosure or town near the spring water in the lower place. A minute account of this subterraneous residence or storehouse in 1845 will be found in the "Chronicles of Kent."

† The Folly covers about an acre of the woodland.

word *low*, a barrow. Mr. Russell has kindly given me permission to open and examine it, and I am most happy to be enabled to state that throughout the western division of the county of Kent a feeling of the importance of preserving objects of antiquity is felt by the agriculturist.

From thence Cæsar marched to the Ford of the Darent, which was not the embanked Darent of the present day, but spread over the entire valley, and rendered it a dangerous morass, only fordable at certain places. Within the last two years a fine flint celt and a bronze celt have been discovered near the Dartford Gunpowder Works, adjacent to the spot where I suppose the river must have been crossed.

The next point to which the invader can be traced is Col Arbhar, Sutton at Hone, where Cæsar encamped the night previously to his last and greatest battle in the island, when he attacked Caswallon's capital, which was situate in the highlands between the rivers Darent and Cray. Cæsar describes Caswallon as possessed of a province, "*cujus fines a maritimis civibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mare circiter millia passuum lxxx*" [v. ii.]. Cæsar was anxious to make the most of his invasion in his despatches to Rome, and, as we may well imagine, was not very particular about the final xxx's, because, according to the route to which he has been conducted, the distance will not be more than seventy miles.* Cæsar certainly might have included the whole distance he had traversed, and not taken it in a direct line from the coast. Nor is it in the least degree improbable that Cæsar might have marched eighty miles, because it is a notorious fact that the old British trackways were not so straight as the subsequent reformed Roman roads.

Agreeably to his preliminary arrangements, Cæsar attacked in two places the town of Caswallon.† The Britons, owing to superiority

* In Goldastre's *Philological Letters*, printed at Leipsic, 1474, Epistle 53, Cæsar's Geography in Germany is charged with incorrectness; and if it was so in Germany, where he had longer opportunities of observation than in Britain, it probably was also wrong in Kent, since in the latter Cæsar was in too much haste to be very accurate, minute, or correct in his description of a country through which he made nothing more than a rapid incursion.

† An account of this town of Caswallon will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1844, which says: "This British town was extremely large, as its boundaries may now be traced into no less than five parishes—Wilmington, Dartford, Bexley, Sutton-at-Hone, and North Cray." This neighbourhood presents the features described by Cæsar in sec. 15:—First, it is no great distance from the Trinobantes.—Secondly, the capital is situated amidst woods and marshes.—Thirdly, the remains of the aboriginal residences are as thick as possible; I counted thirty-nine, a few weeks since, in about an acre and three-quarters.—Fourthly, there are elevated earthworks; the one called Rue Hill was actually used, from its great elevation, as a point for observation during the present century (and the next telegraphic site was adjoining the Roman camp immediately above Caerberlarber's Hole). The other earthwork is now called Green Hill, and the four terraces, by which it was encircled, can be still traced on the south-western side. These are

of discipline, were forced to retreat to another part of the city, "ex alia parte oppidi." This part of the city I conceive to have been Cawden's Wood, the most western part of the same town; or else it was Stankey, its most northern point. By either way the Britons had other towns to fall back upon. I am the more inclined to give the preference to the western, because there, supposing the Romans had still further advanced into the country, they would have had a most difficult march over the marshes and morasses of the Cray; and Caswallon's 4,000 chariots would again have been employed to harass the wearied centurions. In Cawden's Wood still remain an immense number of subterraneous residences, or storehouses, in triples.

After the successful storming of this town Cæsar felt himself compelled to retreat, on account of a confederacy of chiefs having been formed in his rear, which threatened the destruction of his naval camp and his vessels. Cæsar attempts to explain away this serious affair by the following incidental allusion to it: "While these things passed beyond the river Tamys, Caswallon despatched messengers to Kent (the eastern division, of course), which, as we have before observed, was situate along the sea-coast. Its governors were four Ceans—Cingetorix, Caruilus, Taximagulus, and Segonax. Agreeably to the orders forwarded them, they directly drew their forces together and attacked the naval camp." In this affair the Britons lost their leader, Cingetorix. The Romans might have been victorious, but it is an inference we question, because Cæsar says "that he was now compelled to *retrace his steps*;" and, like the previous campaign, was in such haste to embark his men (nothing loth) that he crammed them all "*necessario angustius milites collocavit*" into what ships he had, and sailed away at ten o'clock at night, after inflicting a tribute upon the unconquered islanders.

It has been denied that the Britons were acquainted with the use of money. Now it is hardly possible that Cæsar would have thought of demanding a tribute, which he says he did, together with hostages, had not the Britons possessed and known the use of money. The Rev. Beale Post says the resemblance of the British and Gaulish coins to Grecian coins, particularly those of Macedon, cannot be much wondered at, it being considered that Marseilles was founded by a colony of Phoceans from Asia Minor, and that a great commercial intercourse was maintained between that city and the different parts of the Mediterranean. As Britain was, however, in a higher state of civilization than Gaul, it is more probable that the

the two several quarters Cæsar says he "simultaneously attacked," after dividing his army into two divisions.—Fifthly, "the enemy, after a short stand, were obliged to give way and retire by another part of the wood," that is, either to Cawden's or Stankey, both of which "parts of the wood" are filled with traces of residences.—A full description of this town of Caswallon will be found in John Dunkin's "History of Dartford."

coins indiscriminately termed British or Gaulish were all struck in Britain. In plate xvi. in C. R. Smith's "*Collectanea Antiqua*" are delineated some coins which he presumes are of British origin: figs. 9 and 10 were found in the field below the encampment at Wingfield Bank, mentioned above—the field abounds in foundations, Roman urns, etc., and from the immediate neighbourhood the whole of the coins now forming Mr. Silvester's collection at the Springhead Gardens, near Gravesend, have been picked up.

Thus ended Cæsar's Cantian campaigns, and how little they affected the inhabitants of Kent may easily be conceived.

ALFRED JOHN DUNKIN.

[1866, *Part II.*, pp. 577-594.]

There are few historical subjects that have apparently been so thoroughly treated as the two campaigns of Julius Cæsar in Kent; and if the results had been at all in proportion to the labour there would have been little need for any further inquiry. The *Commentaries* contain what seems a plain and straightforward narrative of events, too simple and natural to require minute criticism.

But a more attentive study of this celebrated work leads to doubt and hesitation, and at times we become convinced that the writer intended to mystify, if not to mislead his readers, especially where his usual good fortune did not attend him, as in his expeditions to the Britannic Island; and so completely has he succeeded that hardly two writers agree upon any of the more important circumstances connected with the invasion. An attempt to ascertain what Cæsar actually did in the island, with the help of contemporary materials which seem to have been hitherto overlooked, can hardly be useless or uninteresting.

It is something strange that while the events which occurred in these Roman invasions were by no means very wonderful or numerous, and the authorities are few and not in any way hard to consult, the errors and misrepresentations through succeeding ages have rendered all our histories unsafe and misleading.

The Roman system of conquest is easily understood. With a highly-disciplined and well-equipped army, it was in vain for the rude nations around to enter into a contest. If defeat occurred, a new consul and a new army were soon forthcoming; and there can be no doubt that the "manifest destiny" doctrine had its influence both on the Romans and those who were opposed to them. Many States entered into alliances with them, as they professed to make, and no doubt did make, a great distinction between an ally and a conquered province, and this difference continued perhaps to be more marked after the extinction of the Republic.

By fighting and negotiation, Cæsar had in three successive years

completely reduced the Gallic tribes, and with his victorious army reached the Straits of Dover. Here for the first time, fifty-six years before Christ, the legions beheld those quiet-looking white cliffs, the outskirts of a country which was to the Romans something like what the River Niger was to us half a century ago, a mystery and a marvel. But the summer was over, the campaign finished; the troops were sent to their winter quarters, and the General himself, according to his custom, went to the south, to see what was doing in other parts of his province.*

There can be no question but the *Commentaries* were composed out of Cæsar's correspondence and official despatches to the senate, consuls, etc., which seem to have been merely put together in chronological order, leaving occasionally gaps of more or less importance; and the history concocted out of such materials would have as much relation to real truth as that of the Russian campaign of 1812, made out of the bulletins of the Grand Army. No doubt true to a certain extent, there is so much misrepresentation, suppression, and exaggeration, as to make the narrative really a great lie. Unfortunately, we have little besides Cæsar's own tale to guide us; but this little is of great interest, and, strange to say, appears to have been little attended to.

The reason assigned for the invasion was that this people had generally given help to the enemies of the Romans, and that especially they had sent ships to the assistance of the Veneti (who seem to have been a considerable maritime power on the western coast) in a sea-fight off Brittany, the year before.† There is, however, no evidence of this. The Veneti were utterly routed, their vessels all taken or destroyed, but not a single captive is reported from Britannia.

Cæsar tells us that he could get no information as to the island—the localities, the ports, the access, the men who lived there. He assures us the Gauls knew nothing about them; he could learn nothing from the merchants who traded with them, either as to the size of the island or as to the inhabitants. They could tell nothing about their system of warfare, or their government, or even of any port capable of containing the fleet which he meant to take across the Channel.‡

But we find in the *Commentaries* an earlier mention of Britannia, which has led our historians into many strange fancies. In the second book§ we are told of Divitiacus, a king of Soissons, who had obtained dominion, not only over a good part of those districts, but also over Britannia. This has been supposed to refer to our own island; and the Belgæ of Ptolemy, one of whose cities was Bath, are presumed to have been the descendants of the conquering army of Divitiacus. We might ask how it would be likely that a person living

* Cæsar's *Comm.*, lib. iii. c. 30.

† *Comm.*, lib. iv. c. 18.

‡ *Comm.*, lib. iv. c. 18.

§ *Cap.* 4.

at Soissons, however powerful he might be, could have raised a fleet and army and done what Cæsar, with all the power of Rome and Gaul to help him, failed to accomplish? But had it really taken place, there surely could be no lack of knowledge upon all those points which Cæsar was so anxious about, as the date assigned to the supposed conquest in the "*Monumenta Historica*" is only two years before Cæsar's attack.* Soissons was a friendly State, and Divitiacus, an *Æduan*, whether of the same family does not appear, but a very influential man in his own State, was in Cæsar's closest confidence. The difficulty, however, is cleared up by Pliny, who enumerates among the tribes bordering on Soissons one which he names *Britanni*, in connection with *Amiens* and *Beauvais*.†

We have to refer to one more mention of our island, which has been still more unlucky from the quantity of nonsense which has grown out of it. In book vi., chap 3. we have a long account of the Druids of Gaul, and are told that, "*as it is thought*," the system originated in Britain, and that they go there to finish their education. Now it is clear that if the Druids did go over the sea to spend some years in the island, they must have been able to answer all Cæsar's questions. But strange as it may appear, in no classical writer, nor indeed in any authentic or genuine document, do we find anything about the Druids of Cæsar in connection with Britain. The name *Druidæ*, in the female form, and evidently describing the poor women who were slaughtered by Suetonius Paulinus in Anglesea, is a mere poetical expression of Tacitus.‡

Cæsar evidently meant to commence the campaign of 55 B.C. with Britain, and had ordered the fleet from the western to the north coast of Gaul, with all the vessels that could be got from other quarters; but an irruption of Germans into what is now Belgium obliged him to alter his plans, and he, the first of the Roman generals, led his army across the Rhine, and, after a stay of about three weeks, returned to the country of the *Morini*, where his fleet was waiting. Here he found envoys from many of the British States, offering hostages and promising obedience to the Roman people; for they had had notice of the intended invasion from the merchants of Gaul. He listened to them, made liberal promises, advised them to keep in the same mind, as he would shortly be amongst them, and so dismissed them. He, however, sent with them *Commius*, the new-made king of the *Atrebatæ* (*Arras*), a person of influence, and in whom he had great confidence. He was to visit as many States as possible, to persuade them to enter into a Roman alliance. A ship

* His expression is, *nostrâ memoriâ*.

† Plinii Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. 31. *Deinde Menapii, Morini, Oromansaci juncti pago, qui Gessoriacus vocatur, Britanni, Ambiani, Bellovaci.*

‡ Annal., xiv. 30.

which he sent over to reconnoitre returned, but the commander had not ventured to land.

Eighty transports, enough to carry two legions, were assembled at the Itian Port, and eighteen more, detained by the wind at a harbour eight miles to the east, were assigned to the cavalry. The staff and chief officers were accommodated in the war galleys. The fleet set sail at midnight, August 25th, 55 B.C.—the date has been pretty decidedly fixed—and reached the Kentish shore at nine o'clock next morning. The hills were crowded with armed men, and the space between the tideway and the foot of the cliffs offered no convenient place for landing. Cæsar waited till all the ships were come up; and then at four o'clock, with a favourable wind and tide, proceeded about seven miles further to a smooth and open beach. But all this was seen and understood by the barbarians, and their horsemen and war-chariots were already dashing along the shore when the fleet arrived. The whole thing was so strange to the Romans that the soldiers hesitated, till the eagle-bearer of Cæsar's favourite legion, the tenth, leaped into the retiring tideway: he was followed by others; the military engines, the artillery, were placed on each flank, and the science and discipline of the Roman legions did the rest. After a short but sharp struggle the enemy retired; but there was no cavalry to pursue them, for Cæsar's usual good fortune had failed him—the vessels containing them had not been able to get across.

There has been much disputing as to the particular port which Cæsar calls the Itian, and still more as to where he landed; and the question, whether the neighbourhood of Hythe or Walmer, the east or the south coast, is to be preferred, may be considered as the most puzzling of all riddles. Fortunately it is of no great consequence; but the divergence of opinion in men of the highest knowledge and capability is very remarkable. For reasons to be given hereafter we suppose the landing to have been somewhere about Walmer.

As soon as the Kentish men rallied, they sent envoys to treat of peace, promising hostages and implicit obedience. Commius, too, who had been thrown into chains when he landed, was brought back, and the whole blame of what had been done was thrown upon the people. The year before, Cæsar had murdered in cold blood two or three hundred senators of one of the Gallic States, where a Roman ambassador had been put in prison; but he was now satisfied with complaining, that after they had sent to him of their own accord to the Continent, offering peace, they had attacked him without reason. However, he was willing to look over their indiscretion. Some hostages were given then, others were to be sent for, and in the meantime the men were sent back to their homes; the chiefs met together from all quarters, and did their best to recommend themselves and their several States to Cæsar.*

* *Comm. iv. 25.*

These states, *civitates*, were probably nothing more than what are now parishes in the neighbourhood of the landing-place, and that some of these might wish to conciliate the conqueror, and save as much as possible their homesteads and harvest, is quite natural; but it does not seem at all likely that this influence would extend far from the coast. Peace, however, was confirmed; and on the fourth day after the landing, the ships containing the cavalry were already in sight of the camp, when a sudden storm came on, drove them back, and dispersed them. That night the moon was at the full; the tide rose to an unexpected height; the war-galleys, which had been drawn ashore, and the transports, which were at anchor, alike suffered from the storm: many were wrecked, others lost their anchors and rigging, and became unfit for service. Great was the consternation of the Roman soldiers, for there were no other ships to take them back, nor any means of repairing the damage already done. As it was not intended to spend the winter in Britain, they were utterly unprovided.* Here, again, we are quite at a loss. Cæsar, no doubt, recounted all this in his despatches, and as there are no tides in the Mediterranean, the excuse might be plausible; but Cæsar and his sailors were by this time well acquainted with the Atlantic and the Channel, and, as to these high tides being "unknown to our men," we cannot believe it.

The mischief, however, was done; the chiefs of Britain (the narrative goes on), who after the battle had agreed to all Cæsar's demands, met. They were aware that the Romans had neither cavalry, ships, nor provisions, and at once resolved upon a rebellion, and to prevent the troops getting food and forage: they were quite certain of victory, and looked forward to the utter destruction of the legionaries. They entered into a new league, withdrew from the camp, and secretly summoned their friends from the country round. The Romans, in the meantime, were busy in breaking up the vessels which were most injured, and thus getting materials to repair the rest. The total loss is stated to have been about a dozen.

The "chiefs of Britain" were nothing more than the heads of the "states" or parishes in the south-east corner of Kent. There is no evidence to show that any others took part in what was going on; and the Kentishmen could have had little pleasure in seeing their harvest gathered by strangers, who were getting everything in the neighbourhood into the entrenched camp.

One legion seems to have been busy in repairing the ships while the other was engaged in scouring and plundering the country. The seventh had marched in the morning to reap the last corn within reach; and as the Cantians were going about, and in the camp, no hostile attack was anticipated. The pickets, having observed an unnatural cloud of dust in the direction which the men had taken,

* Comm. iv. 26.

reported it to Cæsar, who at once saw that the barbarians had entered upon a fresh course of action. He advanced with the cohorts on guard, ordering others to follow with the utmost despatch. The troops had been attacked on all sides, and were on the point of giving way, when Cæsar's vigorous attack broke through the enemy, and the legion was rescued. The soldiers, it appeared, had laid aside their arms, and were busy reaping, when the Kentishmen, on horseback and in chariots, rushed from the surrounding woods. Cæsar was satisfied with being able to withdraw his men to their camp.*

Many days of continued storms succeeded, which effectually prevented any further fighting; but during this period the barbarians sent messengers into the neighbouring districts, summoning the people to expel the invaders and divide the spoil.†

A great multitude were assembled; and Cæsar was prepared for them. On previous occasions the enemy had suffered little, as when repulsed they were soon out of danger; but he had now got thirty horsemen, who had come over with Commius the Atrebate, and these, with the legions, were drawn up in the front of the camp. In the battle the Kentishmen were defeated and pursued by Commius, who slew great numbers; and, after burning and destroying everything they could, he and the horsemen returned to the camp.

We have no information how these thirty got out of prison, if they were taken with Commius before Cæsar's arrival; and though all this has, no doubt, been copied from Cæsar's despatches, there is evidently nothing trustworthy about it, and, to make a grand finale, we are told that on the very same day, after the battle and the pursuit and the slaughter and the burning, the enemy sent ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace, promising to send double the number of hostages to the Continent; and that, that very night, the Roman troops were embarked, and all arrived safe on the Continent. It is evident that the attack was made upon the Romans when they was preparing for the voyage, and the probability is that Cæsar owed his escape to night coming on.‡

Such was the end of the first invasion. Cæsar's usual good fortune had not followed him to Britain. As to the actual strength of the two legions we know nothing, and it has been variously estimated at from 10,000 to 20,000 men. They were in the island apparently three or four weeks, and they never got more than three or four miles from the entrenched camp on the shore. It is especially remarkable that, while so many *States* are referred to, not a single name, either of State, town, or individual, is given. Cæsar has a good deal to say about the war-chariots, though he does not say anything about the scythes which later writers have attached to the axles; nor does he refer to the use of the chariot in Gaul. The Kentishmen were armed with missiles; but whether stones, arrows,

* Comm. iv. 28.

† *Ibid.*, iv. 30.

‡ *Ibid.*, iv. 32.

or darts is not stated. Nothing is said about their towns or houses ; but it is evident that the land was held in property, and that there must have been extensive corn-fields, where a whole legion was engaged in reaping. Cæsar, like later commanders, makes no great show of his losses ; but as twelve of his ships were wrecked, or one-seventh of the whole fleet, and as he had to take back Commius and his horsemen, we may suppose that he returned with one-sixth or one-seventh less men than he came with, perhaps 2,000 men. A great loss in a Roman army in three weeks !

The legions were sent into winter quarters amongst the Belgic tribes ; two only of the Britannic States sent their hostages ; and the Roman senate ordered a thanksgiving of twenty days.*

Cæsar, before he left the shores of the channel for the north of Italy, ordered his lieutenants to refit the vessels that were damaged, and to build a new fleet during the winter.† They were to be made, after a model given by himself, better adapted for carrying troops, and for the flat sandy shores for which they were destined : and, in truth, this undertaking and its completion may rank with anything done by any army, either before or since. The timber had to be felled, perhaps it was plentiful, but it had to be taken either to the shore or to some navigable river ; all the sails and rigging had to be brought from Spain ; where the sheathing or metals and anchors required were to come from, is not stated, and the carpenters were to be found in the legionaries.

On Cæsar's return‡ (B.C. 54), he found that his soldiers, in spite of wanting almost everything, had built 600 flat-bottomed vessels, such as he had ordered, and 28 war galleys, all of which would in a few days be ready for sea. He ordered them to assemble at the Itian Port, and then marched with four legions to Treves, where matters required his attention. As in the year before, dates are wanting ; but he settled the business as soon as possible and returned to the Itian Port, where he found all his ships but forty, which a storm had driven back to the place whence they had started. All the rest were fully equipped and ready for the voyage, but contrary winds for twenty-five days prevented their sailing.

Hitherto we have had nothing but Cæsar's narrative to guide us ; and, without either names, dates, or distances, we get a very unsatisfactory result. The second invasion occupied a longer time than the first, and a greater number of events took place ; so that the want of precision is more felt, and a greater number of explanations have been attempted. The date assigned by Halley, given in the "*Monumenta Historica*," and copied in other histories, is May. But, fortunately, we have now assistance from a contemporary and independent source in Cicero's Correspondence, and we may trace the progress of the invading army pretty accurately.

* Comm. iv. 34.

† *Ibid.*, v. 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, v. 2.

At the end of May, Cicero writes to his brother Quintus, from Cumæ, or Pompeii, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from him, then at Ariminum, on his way to join Cæsar. Cicero returned to Rome June 2nd, and got another letter from Placentia (Piacenza), and a third from Laude (Lodi), dated June 5th, where Quintus met Cæsar, who also wrote on the same day to Cicero. Quintus is to give his brother all the information he can get about Britain; he will write a poem in honour of Cæsar's conquest. 'Only give me Britain to paint in your colours with my pencil!' It would seem that there was a great meeting at Laude of officers placed, or seeking for place, in the Britannic expedition. Quintus Cicero had been named Legatus, of what legion is not stated. It would be the end of June before Cæsar and his staff reached the army, which he visited in their winter quarters.

We have here sufficient evidence to show that the summer was already far advanced. If we suppose that Cæsar and his officers reached their destination from Italy towards the end of June, we have then the excursion to Treves, which must have taken, at least, to the middle of July; then there was the detention by the weather of twenty-five days, so that the expedition could not possibly have got away before the second week in August. This, too, is confirmed by Cicero's correspondence. After a very long and anxious silence, he receives a number of letters at once. One of these is dated from Britain, August 10th,* evidently directly after landing. We can easily understand why Cæsar sent no messengers to Rome during this period; but the interval seems to have been a terrible one for those at home.† We suppose, then, that in the second week of August Cæsar again crossed the Channel; and we have now to follow the narrative from the Commentaries.

Even at the last moment there was another difficulty.‡ In order to make things secure on the Continent, he determined to take with him the Gaulish chieftains as hostages, as well as to keep them out of mischief: one of them imagined that Cæsar's plan was to put them all to death, as soon as they had crossed the sea.

The fleet had been already detained twenty-five days by contrary winds: but at length the order was given to embark. Dumnorix, the Æduan chief just referred to, took to flight, the embarkation was stopped, he was followed, overtaken, and slain.§

The troops embarked at sunset, with a gentle wind from the south-west, which dropped about midnight, and the ships were carried out of their course by the tide. At daybreak, Britain was seen far away to the left; but with the returning tide and good use of the oars, the whole fleet—800 vessels—by noon reached that part of the island

* Cicero, Epist. ad Quint. Fratr., lib. iii. 1.

† Ad Atticum, iv. 15.

‡ Cicero, Epist. ad Quint. Fratr., lib. ii. 15. (Nobbe's ed. Lips. 1850.)

§ Comm. v. 6.

which, as Cæsar had ascertained the previous year, offered the most convenient place for landing. Not an enemy was to be seen ; the people, who had assembled in great numbers, alarmed at the immense fleet, had concealed themselves in the higher country, according to some prisoners ;—the army was landed, an entrenched camp fixed upon, and when Cæsar learned from his prisoners where the enemy was stationed, leaving ten cohorts and three hundred horse to guard the ships, he set out at midnight, and after a march of twelve miles came in sight of the Kentishmen on the bank of a stream : the horsemen and chariots dashed to the river-side, the foot seem to have occupied the higher banks. The Gallic cavalry, however, soon dispersed them ; and the legions pursuing them into the woods came upon a fortification, strong by nature and art. It had apparently, says Cæsar, been formed in some previous domestic struggle, and all the approaches were closed by trees which had been felled in great numbers. The seventh legion soon formed a mound and testudo, stormed the place, and drove the men out of the woods without much loss ; but as the country was unknown there was no pursuit, the rest of the day being employed in fortifying the camp.

The following day, the Roman army had hardly begun its advance in three divisions, when messengers came from Q. Atrius, who had been left in charge of the fleet and camp by the seaside, to say that the night before a violent tempest had thrown the ships on shore and done a great deal of mischief, in fact repeating the accident of the former year. The troops were at once countermanded, and Cæsar hurried back to the shore. He found forty vessels complete wrecks, and sent to the Continent for all the ships that could be fitted out. The fleet were all drawn ashore, and enclosed in the intrenched camp. This work took about ten days' severe labour, and he then returned to the army, leaving the same guard at the camp as before.

It has been remarked that Cæsar has carefully avoided giving names, dates, and distances ; and hence innumerable differences and controversies have arisen upon almost every point in his narrative. It is quite clear that to land an army of 40,000 or 50,000 men in the afternoon, and advance at midnight into a hostile and utterly unknown country, would be a sheer impossibility, and yet every commentator seems to have taken the statement for granted. Cæsar tells us that he landed at a place which he ascertained to be the fittest for that purpose in the former campaign. But we may be quite sure that neither he nor his soldiers would have landed at the site of their former disaster : it would be to them a spot marked with ill omens, and carefully to be avoided. Now, during the three weeks which he spent in the island, a survey of the coast (if he landed near Deal or Walmer) would soon take him to this *most convenient* place, which was in fact the great port, the Rhotupian, for centuries afterwards. A tale told by Valerius Maximus seems to belong to some

such survey. A soldier, with four others, had sailed to a rock near an island where the barbarians were in great force. When the tide went back, it left a free passage from the island to the rock, and the soldier, who had been deserted by his comrades, after a stout resistance, was obliged to leap into the sea and swim to a vessel, in the sight of Cæsar.* If Cæsar's first camp was near Walmer two or three hours would have taken him to the Isle of Thanet and the port of Richborough, or Sandwich.

As to the time intervening between the landing, the midnight march, and the storm, we must get what information we can from Cicero's Correspondence, and in spite of some difference in the readings, the dates seem to be pretty certain. In the first letter of the third book to his brother Quintus, he says, that as he was folding up what he had written on September 21st, he received letters dated twenty days before, on which he goes on:—"How anxious I am How grieved to receive such news! and the grief is increased by his (Cæsar's) exceeding kindness under such a heavy misfortune." At the conclusion of the same letter he says: "I got a letter from Cæsar, dated September 1st, on September 28th, pretty satisfactory as to affairs in Britain; in which to explain why there was no letter from you, he tells me he had come down to the coast without you." This fixes the date of the storm to the end of August.

When Cæsar got back to the army, he found the Kentish men had not been idle. They had assembled men from all quarters, and chosen as general Cassivelaunus, whose territory was divided by the Thames from the maritime States, at about eighty miles from the sea. Before the arrival of the Romans, this general had been continually at war with his neighbours, but now the people had placed him in supreme command. These wars were very likely with parties who were desirous of a Roman alliance; and Cæsar now breaks out into a digression, professing to give an account of the island and its inhabitants—a very indifferent compilation from older writers, with very little worth notice, and not much that is to be relied on.

The Roman general again ordered his troops to advance, and they were very soon annoyed by the horsemen and chariots of the enemy: these skirmishes were attended with loss on both sides. A more serious attack was made on the legions when they were intrenching their camp; the pickets were driven in, or cut off, and succours had to be sent before they could be rescued. This day we are told Q. Laberius Durus, a tribune, was slain.

The next day they remained in camp till noon, when three legions went out to forage. This reconnaissance in force shows how difficult any advance must have been. One legion was left with the ships, another was kept in camp, while all the rest of the force were sent out to plunder. They were, however, closely watched by the Kentish-

* Val. Max. iii. 2, 23.

men, and when busy in their vocation were attacked on all sides; the legions were, however, victorious, and what Cæsar calls the allies of the enemy dispersed, and they never after attacked his troops with all their forces.

Cæsar in his Commentaries always takes great credit to himself for divining or ascertaining the plans of the enemy, and it is evident that Cassivelaunus was not deficient in this quality. He had, Cæsar says, given up all hope of fighting, and dismissed all his army except 4,000 chariots, with which he watched the march of the Romans; harassing them in the woods and passes, driving the inhabitants and cattle on the line of march into the woods, and pouncing upon stragglers so effectually that even Cæsar's strong cavalry were compelled to keep close to the legions, and the wasting and plundering the Kentish homesteads was confined strictly to the track of the legions.

As we have no account of the encampments of the Romans after this, Cæsar leaves us to guess at the number of days occupied on the march before they came to the banks of the Medway. Reaching the Thames was out of the question; it may be doubted whether Cæsar was himself deceived, but he was quite willing to believe that the large river flowing to the north-east was the renowned Thames—a name evidently well known in Rome. The enemy had made the only ford across the river impassable, by driving stakes into its bed and banks. The legions passed, however, up to the neck in water, and the enemy, who had again assembled in great force, took to flight. What became of the 4,000 chariots we are not told, but can hardly imagine they would have been able to get across, unless there were other fords unknown to the Romans.

Cæsar had now reached his furthest point, and he could not have been long on the west side of the Medway; but here we have another of those surprises which, however agreeable in novels, have no place in history. We learn for the first time that a youth of the name of Mandubratius, belonging to the Trinobantes, the strongest of all the States about, had gone to Cæsar in Gaul. His father had been at the head of affairs, but was put to death by Cassivelaunus, and the son, to avoid a similar fate, had fled to Cæsar. These Trinobantes, we learn, sent envoys, offering themselves to him, and promising obedience. They asked him to allow Mandubratius to be their ruler, and wished him to be protected against Cassivelaunus. Cæsar complied with their request, and ordered them to deliver forty hostages, and a supply of corn; both requisitions were readily complied with.

The Trinoantes of Ptolemy, who compiled his geography 170 years after Cæsar, have been considered the same people as these Trinobantes; but Ptolemy's tribe were located in Essex, having Colchester for their chief city, and it would have been utterly

impossible for Cæsar to have got there. It is quite certain, however, that the Romans had then begun, and long after continued, their intrigues, to get a footing in the island by means of alliances. Perhaps Imanuentius had been engaged in something of this sort, had been discovered, and put to death. The wars in which Cassivelaunus had been engaged might possibly have had a similar origin. Any way, the Roman army was then amongst them, as the soldiers were ordered to abstain from all plunder and violence against them. Other States, the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Cassi, also sent in their submission, and from them Cæsar heard that the town of Cassivelaunus was not far from his camp. A British town is described as a place surrounded by a wood and fortified by a trench and rampart; precisely the same thing as we find when the people had regained their independence in the fifth century. He advanced against it, found it as the previous defence, "wonderfully fortified by nature and art," took it after a feeble resistance, and found a great number of cattle in it. Many of the defenders were taken and slain in the flight.

But the islanders seem to have "bated not a jot of heart or hope;" and while these things were going on, the British general sent orders to Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, kings in Kent, to attack the naval camp with all their forces. They were of course unsuccessful, and one of the "kings" was taken prisoner. But Cæsar was now quite aware of his difficult position; he was anxious to get back into Gaul, and we have a repetition of the proceedings of the previous campaign. We are told that Cassivelaunus sent envoys through Commius, the Atrebate, to treat of surrender, and the terms agreed upon were the delivery of hostages, and the promise of an annual tribute. The British commander was also forbidden to make war against Mandubratius and the Trinobantes. How far this last stipulation was respected we do not know, but it is hardly probable the young chief himself would remain in the island upon the strength of it. Cæsar had taken a number of prisoners who would serve as hostages, and the tribute was a promise never performed.

When the army got back to the seashore, the ships had been repaired and were afloat; but as many had been lost, and he had a number of captives, Cæsar's first intention was to return to the Continent at once. He waited for some time for sixty ships, which Labienus had fitted out, but which were unable to get across; and at last, unable to wait longer, crowded his ships in the best way he could, and setting sail at nine in the evening of September 26th, got safe to the opposite shore at break of day. This date is fixed from Cicero "*Ad Atticum*," iv. 17: "I got letters from my brother Quintus and Cæsar, on October 24. All is finished in Britain: hostages received, no booty, but tribute ordered, dated from the shores of

Britain, September 26. The army was being brought back from Britain."

From the dates supplied by Cicero, we may readily see what was possible to be done in the time. There can be little doubt that the storm occurred at the end of August, and the time taken up with the repairs of the ships, and the return of Cæsar to his army, must have been eleven or twelve days—we suppose he began his second advance about the 11th of September, when the men of Kent attacked his camp. On the 12th he sends out three legions to reconnoitre and forage; 13th, resumes his march; 16th, crosses the Medway; 17th, commences his retreat; 21st, reaches the sea, where he waited five days for the ships he expected from Labienus.

The attack on the camp by the four Kentish chiefs must have taken place about the time that Cæsar began his retrograde movement.

We have already expressed an opinion that the Commentaries were for the most part Cæsar's public despatches put together in a somewhat slovenly way, and we may see the difference in the narrative as he gets more information. Thus, before his advance, the territories of Cassivellaunus are divided "from the maritime states" by the river called Thames, about eighty miles from the sea. Afterwards Cæsar "led his army to the Thames, into the territories of Cassivellaunus." After the battle, in the second advance, "the allies, who had arrived from all quarters, departed, nor did the enemy at any time after that attack us with all their forces." But soon after, on arriving at the Medway, he found the opposite bank "lined with great bodies of the enemy," while Cassivellaunus, giving up all hope of fighting, dismissed the best part of his troops, retaining only 4,000 chariots. Then follows the account of the capture of the town of Cassivellaunus, and that general's orders for the attack upon the ships. That Cassivellaunus soon found he had no chance in pitched battles is evident, but it is equally clear that he was in no way conquered or in despair; and we may ask why he should, or how he could, apply to Commius as a mediator with Cæsar? Commius was a Roman agent, and very probably employed by Cæsar himself to enter into negotiations with the British chief while he was making the best of his way back to his ships. This gives us something like a consistent narrative, but one that the Roman general would not have made public at Rome.

The first question that occurs is, What did Cæsar mean by a *State*? It was evidently a district of no great extent, but, as a State, must have been self-governed; and in the absence of all other evidence, we may, as before remarked, not unreasonably suppose that the modern parishes in Kent generally represent these ancient *civitates*, and that each would contain certain towns (*oppida*), *tons* or *hams*, such as the one where the cattle of Cassivellaunus were taken. These States might form leagues together, but the States and the

towns were very well represented 600 years after in the *gau* and the *mark*, as described by Kemble.

It is also certain that there were no kings in our sense of the word. Cassivellaunus was an elective commander-in-chief, as were the four kings of Kent whose names are given, and who might very well represent the *aldermen* of a later period, having the command of the four maritime *Stathes*. There is not a tittle of evidence to show that the men who contended with Cæsar were not the ancestors of those who submitted to William of Normandy; and the changes that had taken place in customs, laws, landed divisions, proper names, or language, were merely the natural consequences of progress and lapse of time.

As to Cæsar's account of the Britons, it is a very poor compilation, and in no respect to be depended upon. Of the interior of the country he knew nothing, and it is strange how little he tells us of what was before his eyes. Except in his account of the management of the chariots, he says nothing of the arms or mode of fighting, and he leaves his reader in his original ignorance. Did the Kentish heroes fight with sword, or battle-axe, or club? with spears or bow and arrows? What was their defensive armour? All that he tells us is that they used *tela* = *missiles*, a term as applicable to stones as any other weapon of offence. In the tale told by Valerius Maximus, the soldier was hit with a stone, and wounded with a *tragula*, which is said to be a dart of unknown form. It was used by the Belgic Gauls, and is named several times in the Commentaries. Could it have been one of the flint missiles that are dug up in such numbers? Anyway, this is the only weapon expressly named in connection with these invasions.

Cæsar was evidently at a loss to account for his bad success, and attributes a good deal of it to the strange manner of fighting from chariots; but the Gauls also used chariots in battles, though Cæsar never thought it worth while to say so. But what possible use could be made of 4,000 pony-carts without springs, and probably solid wooden disks for wheels, either in attack or defence, is not easy to imagine. If, as our common historians state, they had scythes at the axles (but Cæsar says nothing about them), they must have been more destructive to one another in the lanes and woods of Kent than to the Romans.

According to the Commentaries, the Cantians were the most civilized people of the island; all other ancient writers assign this place to the Cornubians, but of these Cæsar never makes mention. In fact, he seems to have no wish or intention to raise the veil of mystery, which had so long shrouded our island from the knowledge of his fellow-countrymen.

Nothing is said of Druidism or Druids, nothing of religious rites or places. The extent of corn cultivated must have been very great,

and this implies not merely a high degree of civilization, but a state of peace in the land, that agrees with other testimonies.

As to the language, we have the very slightest information ; it had not been reduced to writing, and the dozen proper names that are given have exercised and will continue to exercise the ingenuity of etymologists ; not one of them is mentioned elsewhere. Italian ears, even now, make strange work with English words. Cæsar evidently considered the language the same as that of the opposite coast, and, if so, it must have been a Teutonic dialect.

Cicero soon found that his poem would not be required, and he cut it up ; whether the world had lost much in it may be doubted—it had evidently been a mistake. There was not a scruple of silver in the whole country, and Atticus would not be likely to get an amanuensis out of all the slaves that were taken (Ad Atticum, iv. 16). But the Romans had learned a lesson, and nearly ninety years passed away before the legions again landed in Britain.

There is one thing which is becoming rather prevalent with a certain class of writers, which must be protested against : the transformation of Cæsar's Kentish names into good modern Welsh. Even the *Times*, in its reviews of Napoleon's "Life of Cæsar," calls Cassivellaunus, "Cadwallon" !

JOHN ROBSON, M.D.

SAMIAN WARE.

[1844, *Part I.*, pp. 256, 257.]

Many of the coarser fictile vases were manufactured in Britain. Of the red ware, commonly known as Samian, I think we may fairly conclude that it was imported from some of those Continental manufactories of which the younger Pliny speaks in his Natural History [xxxv. 46]: "Major quoque pars hominum terrenis utitur vasis, *Samia* etiamnum in esculentis laudantur . . ." He then enumerates the Continental towns where Samian vessels were manufactured ; as Surrentum, Arretium, Asta, Saguntum, Pergamum, and adds : "Hæc quoque per maria terrasque ultrò citròque portantur"—and this brings me to the subject of potters' names, stamped on Samian, and some few pieces of other ware, of which I annex an alphabetic list, being such as have come under my own observation, or are to be found in other collections, or well-authenticated reports, chiefly derived from the site of Roman London.

I am aware that one or two of your correspondents may contribute, perhaps, a large supplement to this list ; nevertheless, it will be something to have made a beginning.

Agustalis.*

Albani.

Albini. Ma.

Albuci.

* This mark I have, I think, seen in Mr. Roach Smith's collection. It may indicate that the vessel belonged to the Prætor's palace. Thus I have seen vessels

Aquitanus.	Martialis.
Argo F.*	Maximini. M.
Belinucci M.	Martini. M.
Britann. . . .	Matucenus.
Calava F.	Medeti. M.
Cata sextus F.	Micio.
Of. Calvi.	Of. Montani.
Calvini.	Moricam. F.
Of. Cen.	Of. Murran.
Of. Cres.	Of. Nigri.
Of. Cresti.	Paterni M.
Demara. M.	Of. Pazzeni.
Divicatus.	Of. Prim.
Felix Fecit.	Primitivi.
Felic.	Of. Pompeii.
O. Firmonis.	Of. Pudentis.
Germanic.	Potitian.
Indulcius.†	Of. Rufi.
Licinus F.	Ruffi. M.
Lutæus.	Secundi.
Lucinilus.	Sextus F.
F. Lugdun.	Senecianus
Luppa.	Of. Severi
Maceratus.	Tetrici.
Marsi. M.	Of. L. Cos. Viril.‡

I have incidentally noticed in this communication the museum of Mr. C. Roach Smith, as replete with relics of high antiquarian interest; and I here take occasion to express the hope that his interesting work, now in course of publication, "*Collectanea Antiqua*," will largely embrace the illustration of Londinian antiquities, in which his collection is so rich.

In conclusion, I would observe that it is from tangible evidence

stamped D. O. M. S. Deo Optimo Maximo Sacrum. Mr. Smith has a curious stamp denoting the capacity of the vessel—Vini ix.

* The letters F—O—M—F—M. S. F. stand for fecit, officina or ex officinâ, manu, or manu suâ fecit.

† Perforated on a censer of earthenware. Montfaucon in his Italian diary says he bought two seals for stamping earthen vessels, each having a ring attached. One of the impresses is Greek, ΤΙΤΟΥΛΙΟΥΦΟΙΒΙΩΝΟΥ for Titi Julii Phœbionis; the other Latin, Q. Sabini Seundini. Several bronze stamps of this kind are in the British Museum.

‡ Ex officina Lucii Cossi Virilis.—This is the mark of a very ancient potter, and is found sometimes in a sort of label, and at either end of the letters six pellets thus disposed . . . It was found with coins of Claudius and Vespasian at East Cheap, and, if I remember rightly, on pottery in the sepulchres at the Bartlow Hills.

chiefly, often strongly fortifying the conjectures of the etymologist, that any safe and positive conclusions as to ancient Roman and British sites, fallen into decay and oblivion, can be drawn.

Yours, etc. A. J. K.

[1844, *Part I.*, pp. 369-372.]

Acting upon the suggestion of your correspondent A. J. K., in the last number of your magazine, I have added a few potters' names to his list; and as many of your readers may not have seen the Samian vessels to which he alludes, I have thought it not irrelevant to introduce a short notice of them.

These vessels are discovered from 15 to 20 feet below the present level of modern London, among undoubted remains of Roman occupation; and through the instrumentality of the Commissioners of Sewers, or rather of their servants the "navigators" (who are much more anxious to preserve them than their superiors themselves), these silent records of past ages find their way into *private* museums and collections.

Rapid strides are being made towards the completion of the drainage of the metropolis, and probably in the course of a few years there will be no occasion for the extensive excavations at present necessary for the purpose of forming sewers; consequently I think that, although of late many remains of Roman London have been discovered, they ought in every instance to be recorded while we yet have the advantage of such aid to antiquarian research.

From the numerous fragments of this ware which have been observed on the sites of Roman cities and towns, it has been reasonably conjectured that it is the identical Samian spoken of by Pliny and other authors as used by the Romans at their meals, and for other domestic purposes; it is indeed expressly stated that the ware made of Samian earth, and which came from the island of Samos, was much esteemed by them to eat their meals out of, and to display upon the board;* that it was in common use we have authority enough, in fact we find it proverbial, in the same manner as we at the present day make use of the simile "as brittle as glass":

"Placidè pulta." "Metuis credo, ne fores Samiæ sient."†

Again,

"Vide quæso, nequis tractet illam indiligens."

"Scis tu, ut confringi vas cito Samium solet."‡

That this description of ware was manufactured in Britain, as some have supposed, is very improbable. Remains of ancient potteries have indeed been discovered in various parts, of the coarser black vessels. At Castor, in Northamptonshire, were seen potters' furnaces, in which the vessels remained as placed by the makers for baking;§ and Mr. C. R. Smith has traced innumerable vestiges of

* Pliny.

† Plaut. *Menaech.* A. I., Sc. 2.

‡ Ib. *Bacch.* A. 2, Sc. 2.

§ Durob. of Antonin. identified, Artis.

potteries throughout the Upchurch marshes, and along the banks of the Medway,* but all of the coarse black ware.

We have historical evidence to prove that the Samian was transported into foreign countries, and that most nations under heaven used them at their tables;† and there is little doubt but that they were of foreign manufacture. Similar fragments are found at Rome and its vicinity, and indeed throughout Europe, some apparently from the same moulds. Two of these Samian bowls are engraved in Montfaucon, and are placed among the “Batterie de Cuisine;” and speaking of the ware he says, “C’est fort creux, et peut avoir servi à mettre des sausses ou de la bouillie”‡—

“At tibi læta trahant Samiæ convivia testæ,
Fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota.”§

It is very likely the appellation of Samian was given indiscriminately to all vessels in common use at the table, of whatever colour or make, for the Samian “fictilis fidelia,” mentioned by several authors, was a jug or pitcher of white ware, in which the wine was put out of the larger amphora—

“Tumet alba fidelia vino.”||

It held about a gallon, and was often filled with the favourite beverage mulled wine—

“Musi congialem plenam faciam tibi fideliam.”¶

The “pocula Saguntina,” and drinking-cups from Surrentum, Asia, and Pollentia may be included.

The general forms of the bright-red Samian are bowls and dishes or pateræ, of various sizes, and of considerable thickness to bear the constant wear to which it was subjected in being so repeatedly moved on and off the board; unlike the Athenian vases, which were for ornament only, and the chief excellence of which consisted in their extreme lightness. Some colouring matter must have been used to give it the beautiful coralline appearance it now (even after the lapse of so many centuries) possesses throughout its substance:

“Ex luto Samio in rubrum colorem vertente,”**

and it is extraordinary that it should still retain the uniform high polish on its surface. In examining the numerous specimens I possess, there appears such a similarity in the colour, scarcely varying a shade, that it is probable these red vessels were transported from one particular spot, and that the knowledge of the art in colouring and manufacturing them was confined to the potters of the island of Samos.

Pottery was looked upon with greater veneration and respect than

* Collectan. Antiq. C. R. Smith.
§ Tibulus. ii. 3. || Pers. v. 183.

† Pliny. ‡ Vol. 5, pp. 124 and 144.
¶ Plaut. Aulular. iv. 3. ** Pitiscus.

vessels of gold and silver, and generally used at their sacrifices. Tertullian speaks of the Samian vessels as still in use at their religious ceremonies; and Plautus,

“Ad rem divinam quibus est opus Samiis vasis utitur.”*

It was the custom among the Romans to give an entertainment to commemorate the death of their friends, at which a display of plate or earthenware, according to the circumstances or distinction of the deceased, was placed about the room; and we find Cicero† speaking of the stoic Quintus Tubero, who, on the death of Africanus, furnished out a dining-room, in which were placed wooden beds with goatskin covers, and a sideboard of Samian vessels, as if they had been commemorating the death of Diogenes the cynic, and not the great Africanus.

The Romans, doubtless, in their entertainments made a great display of the more precious metals, but the Samian ware was in general use among all classes.

“Quibus divitiæ domi sunt, scaphio et cantharis
Batiolis bibunt: at nos nostro Samiolo poterio
Tamen vivimus.”‡

It is said that Agathocles, King of Sicily, used these Samian vessels always at his feasts; his partiality to them no doubt arose from the circumstance of his father having followed the trade of a potter:

“Fama est fictilibus cœnasse Agathoclea regem,
Atque Abacum Samio sæpe onerasse luto.”§

A strong cement, called “signina,” was made from fragments of Samian pottery, which were ground into powder and tempered with lime; this red cement is seen on some tessellated pavement (found last year in Wood Street) between tesserae of baked white clay. Pavements were also made of powdered tiles mixed in the same manner, so likewise was the mortar, which gave it that red appearance to which Fitzstephen alludes, when, speaking of some part of the Tower of London which then stood, he says, “The mortar is tempered with the blood of beasts.”

This ware was probably more esteemed and more generally used among the higher classes in Britain than at Rome; the common black pottery, made at a small cost in the various manufactories of England, was used by the lower orders; and the Samian, from the distance it was brought, and consequent increase of price, was comparatively rare; as a proof of this, bowls and paterae are found which had been broken and fastened together again with leaden rivets.

Some of the patterns with which this ware is decorated are exceedingly beautiful and interesting, illustrating their mythology, and the different games they were accustomed to celebrate: gladiatorial

* Captiv. A. 2, Sc. 2.

‡ Plaut. Stich. A. 5, Sc. 4.

† Pro Murena.

§ Ausonius.

combats; conflicts between men and beasts; field sports; and musicians represented playing on the plectrum, double flute, and instruments many of which are now unknown. In many the pigmies are seen warring against their inveterate enemies the cranes, who invaded their cornfields. The patterns formed of the vine, its tendrils, leaves, and fruit, are tastefully grouped. On others are seen basso-relievos of the heathen deities—Mercury, Apollo, Venus, etc., modelled from existing statues.

In general, the ornaments are raised from the surface of the bowl; the clay in the first instance was shaped by being thrown on the wheel, and the figures afterwards moulded in relief on the exterior; in a few instances these figures appear to have been cast in a mould previous to their being affixed to the bowl. Mr. C. R. Smith possesses a beautiful specimen of this variety.

The potters' names are in most cases impressed across the centre at the bottom of the interior of the vessel; and it is remarked that many discovered in London correspond with others found in different parts of England, and even in France. Among the names on the annexed list are several which agree exactly, even in the peculiar monogram and precise formation of the type adopted by one particular artificer. VTALIS (Vitalis); this stamp has been found on Samian pateræ from Crooked Lane, Queen Street, Cheapside; and in a tumulus on the Bartlow Hills. OF RUFIN has been observed on the same ware from Lombard Street, Crooked Lane, Lad Lane, and other parts of the city.

It is probable these larger ornamented vessels were used to place the meat and substantial part of the meal in, while the small plain Samian cups of the same red ware were those described as the *salinum* or salt-cellar, and *acetabulum* or vinegar-cup, which were put on the board to dip the lettuce and viands into, or to hold pickles, sauces, etc., to give a relish to the other portion of the repast. The acetabulum was used as a measure, about the same as the modern "teacup-full;" the cyathus or ladle held $\frac{1}{2}$ of a pint, the acetabulum $\frac{1}{8}$ of a pint, the urna about 3 gallons 4 pints, and the amphora about 7 gallons. The Romans divided the sextarius or pint into twelve equal parts, called cyathi, therefore their calices or cups were called sextantes, quadrantes, trientes, etc., according to the number of cyathi they contained. Another circumstance connected with these cups may not be unworthy of notice, as it shows the antiquity of the "thimble rig" of the present day. The use of the acetabulum for this purpose is distinctly mentioned; they placed three of these cups on a table with three legs, and underneath each were put stones or other objects, which were removed from one to the other by sleight of hand, or abstracted altogether, to the great astonishment and amusement of the spectators, who found the stones under different cups from those which they expected. These

persons were called acetabularii, because they played with the acetabulum.

In the following list I have confined myself entirely to those stamps in my own possession, and which are all impressed on the red Samian ware, and the places where they were found are printed in italics.

W. C.

- Aistivi. M. *Creed Lane*.
 Aeterni. M. reversed, *Lad Lane*.
 Borilli. M. *Queen Street*, and C. R. Smith's list.*
 Crani. *Bishopsgate Street*, C. R. Smith's list.
 Ceria. *Ditto*.
 Cai M. S. reversed, *Queen Street*.
 Decimi. *Lad Lane*.
 Jul. Numidi. *Lad Lane*.
 Of. Jucun. *Creed Lane* and *Queen Street*.
 Latinian. F. *Queen Street*.
 Lupei. M. *Lad Lane*.
 Miccio. *Creed Lane*.
 Of. Murra. *Bishopsgate Street*, *Lombard Street*,† *Crooked Lane*.‡
 Onativi. *Queen Street*.
 Ocirmi. *Lad Lane*.
 Omom. *Lad Lane*.
 Officin. *Queen Street*.
 Of. Passi. *Bishopsgate Street*.
 Of. Prim. *Lad Lane*, *Reculvers*, *Crooked Lane*.
 Patna, *Bishopsgate Street*.
 Of. Patrici. *Queen Street*, C. R. Smith's list.
 Pater. *Bishopsgate Street*.
 Of. Rufin. *Lad Lane*, *Crooked Lane*, *Lombard Street*.
 Ropusi, F. F. *Queen Street*.
 Secundus. *Queen Street*, *Lombard Street*, *Crooked Lane*, C. R. S. list.
 Silvinus. F. *Lad Lane*.
 Sympho. *Bishopsgate Street*.
 Turtunn. *Queen Street*.
 Tauri. *Queen Street*.
 Vitalis. M. S. F. *Lad Lane*, *Crooked Lane*, *Bartlow Hills*,§
 C. R. S. list.
 Vitalis P. P. *Bishopsgate Street*.
 Of. Vita, *Lad Lane*.
 Xivi. *Queen Street*.

* "Archæol." 1831.

† *Ibid.*, Mr. Kempe, vol. xxiv.

‡ *Ibid.*, by Mr. Forster, 1786.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. 25.

[1844, *Part II.*, pp. 35-38.]

Your correspondent W. C. (April, p. 369) will, I am sure, pardon me for attempting to add another word to his interesting paper on the Roman pottery. The numerous quotations he has cited are all highly illustrative of the esteem in which the potter's art was held among the Romans, both for sacrificial and ordinary domestic purposes. Whether that singularly beautiful red glazed earthenware which Stow so aptly compares to coral,* and of which such vast quantities have been since exhumed in every part of England and France where their respective records have assigned a Roman station, be really the identical Samian pottery of Pliny, is, I think, a question yet to be decided. But whether it be from Italy, Greece, or Spain, the quantities† which have been from time to time discovered, betoken, I think, a somewhat more extensive use than W. C. seems inclined to give to it, in supposing it not to have been in general use except among the upper classes. In the various excavations in the City of London I have generally observed that the quantity of this ware has far exceeded that of any other, from what is termed the Roman level. The almost endless variety in shape, size, and ornament, which seems to characterize these vessels, induces me to think they must have been in very general use. The great number of potters' stamps, moreover, indicates, I think, a rather extensive trade. If a complete list of those found in England, even during only the last twenty or thirty years, and now lying scattered through private and public collections, were to be placed before your readers, they would be surprised at its length and variety. The subject, although it has elicited from your correspondent a paper of considerable interest and research, is not yet exhausted; I venture to hope that a few additional illustrations may not be unacceptable.

The "terra Samia" of Pliny appears to have been white, and seems to have possessed some medicinal properties. (Lib. xxxv., c. 6.) Our author states that it was not much esteemed among the painters on account of its *greasiness* (*pinguetudinem*). In this respect it seems to bear some analogy to the clay of Cornwall, which is so much in vogue in our potteries under the name of "china clay."

I think W. C.'s conjecture, that "some colouring matter was used," certainly derives support from Pliny [xxxv. 43], who alludes to an opinion at Samos (*sunt qui in Samo tradant*), that Rhæcus and Theodorus were the first artificers in the plastic art, but states that Dibutades of Sicyonia (in Peloponnesus) was the first who added *red earth* or colour to his material (*rubricam addere, aut ex rubrica cretam fingere*). This seems to afford some little support to the opinion that the Samian ware was *red*; but it is not decisive, and the quotation from

* Vide Stow's account of the discoveries in Spitalfields, 1576.

† Exeter appears to have been remarkably prolific. Vide Shortt's "*Silva Ant. Iscana*," pp. 117.

Pitiscus, "Ex luto Samio in *rubrum colorem* vertente," is scarcely sufficient authority. He published his "Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum" (from which I assume the passage to be taken) in 1713. He may have had good authority for his statement, but, if so, we ought to have the source of his opinion.* We have good evidence that numerous other cities, far removed from the island of Samos, furnished *red* pottery. The passage from Pliny, "major quoque pars hominum terrenis utitur vasis," does not solely refer to the productions of Samos, but is, I think, merely a general remark, and equally applicable to earthenware of all kinds. He informs us that the earthenware of Samos, and of Aretium, in Italy (Tuscany), is famed for "eating out of" (in *esculentis*), but that for drinking cups (*calicum*) the following cities are distinguished (*nobilitantur*):—Surrentum (Sorrento in Campania); Asta and Pollentia (part of ancient Liguria, now Asti and Polenzo); also Saguntum, in Spain; Mutina (Italy, now Modena); Pergamos, in Asia Minor; and the Greek cities, Trallis and Erythræ; and towards the end of the chapter he adds Rhegium and Cumæ.

The red earthenware of Cumæ (in Campania) is mentioned in the Latin poets:—

"Hanc tibi *Cumano rubicundam pulvere testam*
Municipem misit casta Sybilla suam."—Mart. lib. xiv. 114.

Articles of similar description formed the "Campanian furniture" (*supellex Campana*) which decorated the table or sideboard of Horace. Sat. lib. i. 6, 118. Mr. Shortt in "Silva Antiqua Iscana," a work replete with interest and learning, quotes a passage from Apicius (*De arte coquina*) in which the cook is directed to use "a clean *Cumæan red earthenware* dish."

Of the pottery of Saguntum we have frequent mention:

"*Pugna Saguntina* servet commissa *lagena*."—Juv. v. 29.

It would seem, however, that the Saguntine ware was held in less esteem than the others; judging from Martial (who came from the neighbouring city, Bilbilis):

"*Ficta Saguntino* cimbria *malo luto*."—Mart. viii. 6.

And again (lib. xiv. 108):

"*Quæ non sollicitus teneat servetque minister,*
Sume Saguntino pocula ficta luto,"

meaning, it is supposed, that the attendant may use this material

* As this passage is of importance to our subject, and has been more than once introduced in the "Archæologia," it may be worth while to inquire what work of Pitiscus it occurs in; and, if in his elaborate Lexicon, under what head. It is certainly not to be found under those heads where we should think it most likely. I have referred to "Samia," "Fictilia," "Pocula," and a host of other words, but without success.

without any anxiety, being of less value. It is probable that he alludes to the same ware in the following passage (lib. xiv. 102):

"Accipe non *vili* calices de *pulvere* natos,
Sed *Surrentinæ* leve *toreuma* rote."

The cups of Surrentinum are recommended by the poet as preferable for the wine for which that city was famed:

"*Surrentina* bibis? nec *murrhina* picta nec aurum
Sume: dabunt *calices* hæc tibi *vina suos*."—Mart. lib. xiii. 110.

The pottery of Aretium (in Tuscany), one of the cities spoken of by Pliny, is also mentioned by Martial (lib. xiv. 98):

"*Aretina* nimis ne spernas *vasa* monemus,
Lautus erat *Tuscis* *Porsena* *ficilibus*."

The *red* dish, or platter (*paropsis rubra*), is alluded to by the same poet (lib. xi. 27):

"Cui portat gaudens ancilla *paropside rubra*
Alece."

And by Persius (Sat. v. 183):

"*Rubrumque* amplexa *catinum*
Cauda natat *thynni*, tumet *alba fidelia vino*."

Also in the "Fasti" of Ovid (v. 522):

"*Terra rubens crater*, pocula *fagus* erant."

These perhaps form the chief, if not all the illustrations furnished by the "classic" authors relative to the red pottery of the Romans, and the result of my inquiries into the subject is the opinion that what we have so long termed "Samian ware" really came from Italy, and that the material was indigenous to that portion of Italy anciently comprehended in the name Campania, a district which included Cumæ, Baiæ, Puteoli, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiæ, Surrentum, etc., etc.

We have certainly much stronger evidence in support of this supposition than that in favour of the isle of Samos, particularly as no modern discoveries in the latter seem to afford us much, if any, corroborative testimony. Mr. C. R. Smith (no slight authority in such matters) seems to think it likely that this beautiful ware was imported from Saguntum, as being the nearest port to Britain ("Collect. Antiq.," No. 2), in which case Martial's description of its quality is certainly not applicable.

The "Signina" mentioned by Pliny (xxxv. 10) and Vitruvius (ii. 4) was made from broken pots and tiles generally. The text of Pliny does not exclusively mention Samian earthenware; he merely says "*fractis testis*," which will equally apply to the manufactures of Cumæ or the other cities he enumerates.

To the beautiful and varied character which distinguishes so much of this ware I can bear ample testimony; that in some cases the

ornaments were afterwards finished off by the graver or tools of the sculptor is, I think, borne out by the following passage from Martial, lib. iv. 46 :

“ *Et crasso figuli polita calo*
Septenaria synthesis Sagunti
Hispane luteum rotæ toreuma ;”

thus supporting the opinion of Mr. C. R. Smith with respect to the ornaments on the beautiful red vase discovered in Cornhill, 1841 (“Arch.” xxix. 274).

Whichever locality may be decided upon as the source of this pottery, it seems pretty evident, from the remarkable similarity in the specimens, that England and France were supplied from the same market.

Of *embossed* drinking-cups in wood, earthenware, and metals, the Roman poets furnish us with many illustrations. Among them I may briefly cite Virgil, “Eclog.” iii. 43 ; Juvenal i. 76 ; Martial, lib. iv. 46 ; viii. 51 ; Propertius i. 14. Some of them seem to have been sufficiently large and ponderous to serve for other purposes as well. Thus we read in Ovid (“Met.” v. 81) that Perseus broke the head of Eurythus with a massive bowl highly embossed.

While paying a just tribute of admiration to the many interesting illustrations of the poetry and mythology of Greece and Rome, and to the general beauty and elegance which frequently characterize the figured specimens of the red ware, we must at the same time bear in mind that there are occasionally discovered fragments depicting subjects of such extremely gross character, that we must cease to wonder at the more refined taste of Pliny causing him to inveigh so eloquently against the depravity of his countrymen in attaching a higher value to such vessels.

“ *Quot modis auximus pretia rerum.*”
 “ *In poculis libidines cælare juvat, ac per obscenitates bibere.*”
 Lib. xxxiii. Proemium.

Similar sentiments occur in a former passage (lib. xiv.).

W. C. amusingly alludes to the well-known game with the acetabulum as the prototype of the “thimble-rig” of modern times, that never-failing, but perhaps not inappropriate, accompaniment of the racecourse (the transactions of each presenting equal claim to the late facetious designation “manly sports”). But this distinguished game can trace its parentage to a much earlier source, as evinced by the sculptures on the tombs at Thebes (*vide* Wilkinson’s “Ancient Egyptians”).

Yours, etc. E. B. PRICE.

P.S.—I annex a list of such “potters’ stamps” as are in my own possession, from the various excavations in the city during the last three or four years.

- ACCILINVS. F. Broad Street.
ALBINI. OF. Saddler's Place, London Wall.
ABIANI. New street by Holborn Bridge.
ADVOCISI. (in large characters on the side). St. Paul's Churchyard.
AVENT. (? Aventini). Bishopsgate Street.
ATII. (or Atali). Ditto.
OF. ABALL. Clement's Lane.
OF. ABINI. Ditto.
AVENTINI. M. Cateaton Street.
BELINICVS. Lad Lane.
BVRDONIS. OF. Cateaton Street.
OF. BASSI. Water Lane, Tower Street.
BORILLI. OF. Saddler's Place.
CACAS. M. Queen Street.
CERTVS. F. Broad Street.
CALVI. St. Paul's Churchyard.
COTTO. F. Clement's Lane.
CIRRVVS. FEC. St. Paul's Churchyard.
COMITALIS. F. (on the side). Lothbury.
OF. CALVI. The new street at Holborn Bridge.
CVNA. F. Playhouse Yard, Blackfriars.
DOMINICI. Artillery Lane.
DAMONVS. Clement's Lane.
DAGOMARVS. Lad Lane.
DOMII. Great St. Helens.
OF. FACE. Bishopsgate.
GERMANI. OF. Near the Bank.
GIMMT. F. (? Gimmati). Paternoster Row.
OF. GAL. IVI. Water Lane.
LOLL. Holborn Bridge new street.
LOSSA. Paternoster Row.
MINVI. O. Ditto.
MAXIMI. Ditto.
MINVTIVS. F. Lad Lane.
OF. MODEST. Queen Street.
OF. MODI. Basinghall Street.
MASCVLVS. F. Clement's Lane.
NERTVS. St. Paul's Churchyard.
OF. NIGRI. Bishopsgate Street.
NERT. M. St. Swithin's Lane.
OVAL. Creed Lane.
ONCEO. Lad Lane.
PASSENI. Cornhill.
PRIM. M. Tooley Street.
OF. PRIM. Clement's Lane.
PRIMANI. Basinghall Street.

PATRICI. New street, Holborn Bridge.
 PECVLARIS. Shoe Lane.
 OF. PATRICI. Ditto.
 PRIMVL. Cateaton Street.
 Ditto. Paternoster Row.
 PVRINX. Addle Street.
 PVTR—. Queen Street.
 PATEKCLVS. F. Cateaton Street.
 PASTO—. Ditto.
 RACVNA. F. Ditto.
 REGALIS. St. Paul's Churchyard.
 REBVRI. OF. Lad Lane.
 REGNVS. F. Threadneedle Street.
 OF. RVF. St. Paul's Churchyard.
 OF. RVFINI. Clement's Lane.
 SENTIA. F. Saddler's Place, London Wall.
 SENECI. O. Queen's Street.
 Ditto. Great St. Helen's.
 SILVINI. Broad Street.
 OF. SEVERI. Butcher Hall Lane.
 SARENTIV. Lothbury.
 TITVRONIS. Water Lane.
 OF. VITALI. Clement's Lane.
 VTALIS M. Threadneedle Street.
 XVI. Clement's Lane.

[1845 *Part I.*, pp. 23-24.]

In your magazine for April last I sent a few remarks on the pottery called Samian, which I was pleased to see elicited a continuation of the subject from your correspondent E. B. P.

I am induced to make some further observations, as the writer appeared to doubt the authenticity of a quotation which I made from Pitiscus, and wished to know whether it was to be found in his *Lexicon*? if so, under what head? as he had referred to several without success.

It is to be found in the *Lexicon* under the head "*Simpulum*," where Pitiscus, after giving numerous authorities to show that the Samian ware was used by the Romans at their religious sacrifices,* adds, "*Ex luto namque Samio, quod est in insula Samo, in rubrum colorem vertente, plurima ego observo vasa etiam ad veterum sacrificia. Quod in talem usum inserviisset lutum Samium docet Cicero de Rep.*" ("*Apud Non.*" iv. 434).

It is true (as E. B. P. observes), our author only compiled his

* A Samian patera in my possession recently found in London bears the following impress, SACER • VASIFF, which would seem to imply that it had been used for some sacred purpose.

elaborate Lexicon little more than a century since; but I think it probable he had some good authority for the remark, as his work is one of great research, and replete with valuable information, advancing little without a reference to prove the correctness of his assertion.

The writer also seemed to require some distinctive evidence that the Samian of Pliny was red; but I think I can show that such was the case from the quotations he has adduced:

"Cui portat gaudens ancilla *paropside rubra*
Alecem."—Mart.

And again:

"*Rubrumque amplexa catinum*
Cauda natat thynni, tumet alba fidelia vino."—Pers.

The *paropsis rubra* and *rubrum catinum* here mentioned both refer to dishes used by the Romans at their meals, such as Pliny speaks of as Samian. The former was a dish or platter to hold pickles or vegetables (*paropsis leguminis*—Suet.), and the other to hold larger viands, such as in this case a large fish. The *RUBRUM catinum* is also termed in Lucilius *SAMIUM catinum*:

"Et non pauper uti, Samio curtoque catino:"

a still more corroborative proof.

I have before observed I thought it probable some colouring matter was used to give it that beautiful coralline appearance, but still I am of opinion the Samian clay was of a reddish hue independent of this adventitious colour, if any were actually used. Pliny certainly speaks of a white earth from Samos which was used for medicinal purposes, but it would not have been from this the pottery was manufactured: that white was not the general colour of the clay is, I think, fully proved by travellers who have visited the island. Tournefort, who gives an account of it, says, "Samos does not want for iron mines; most of the land looks the colour of rust; all about Bavonda is full of a bolus, deep red, very fine, very dry, and sticks to the tongue. Samos was heretofore famed for earthenware; perhaps it was this earth about Bavonda." A friend of mine possesses a specimen of the veritable *Samian pure*, quantities of which were formerly exported from the island for the purposes of pharmacy, bearing the Sultan's seal or stamp, which is doubtless the pure unmixed earth; even this is of a red colour, similar in appearance to what is termed bole, or oxide of iron.

E. B. P. is also of opinion that the ware we have so long called Samian is from Cumæ in Campania and the neighbourhood. I think, had such been the case, large quantities of it would have been discovered in the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, but I believe few (if any) specimens have been found there. The following quotation shows that the two wares were distinct:

"At tibi læta trahant Samiæ convivia testæ,
Fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota."—Tibullus. [ii. 3.]

I think we may infer from this that the former was in use at the table, while the latter was of a more costly character. The commentators on the passage state the Cumæan to be the same as that now called Etruscan. The Etruscan vases were also made of a red earth (rubrica), and afterwards covered with a bituminous substance to ornament them. The following is the analysis by Vauquelin: silica 53 per cent., alumina 15, lime 8, oxide of iron 24; the latter giving it the red hue.

Whether these utensils were really made at Samos, as I imagine, and in which I think I am borne out by the observations of Pliny; whether, as others have supposed, they were manufactured of Italian clay found in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome; or, as E. B. P. conjectures, in Campania, they have been everywhere called Samian; and the reason for so calling them must have been from a similarity to the ware made at the island of Samos. We should have just as much reason for supposing that these vessels were made in London, merely because such abundant specimens are discovered here, as Caylus had, from finding such quantities at Nismes, in immediately concluding they were manufactured at that place while under the Roman dominion.

W. C.

[1845, *Part I.*, pp. 141-143.]

I have to thank your correspondent W. C. for pointing out to me in the *Lexicon of Pitiscus* the precise locality of the oft-quoted words, "Ex luto Samio in rubrum colorem vertente," thus illustrating the necessity of giving "chapter and verse" for all quotations, especially when from Latin *folios*! Had Governor Pownall (the first, I believe, to quote the words) in his interesting papers in the "*Archæologia*" for 1785 and 1787 (vols. v. and viii.) favoured us with this little piece of additional information, he would have spared no little trouble to me, and some others I could mention, who did not seem quite satisfied with a quotation second-hand, and who, it seems, have looked under every head but the right one in these two ponderous tomes. The passage, after all, turns out to be nothing more than the words of the lexicographer! and consequently of little authority. The reference to Cicero furnishes us with no assistance upon the point in doubt. But the question is really one of no moment, for if W. C. will refer to my communication [*ante*, p. 554-557] he will see that I have nowhere said the Samian ware was *not* red, but that in the absence of any classical evidence I wanted proof that it *was*. It must be remembered that Pliny speaks of *two* Samian earths, *both* supposed, when washed and burnt, to have medicinal properties, "sanguinem expuentibus," among others. One of these, which he terms "aster," was of a bright shining appearance (*candida*), B. 35, cap. 16. That it was nearly *white* is evident from his description of

it in the sixth chapter (on colours), "Est et colos tertius e candidis cerussæ." (Three shades from a pure white?) The colour of the other (termed "syropicon") is not mentioned. It is, however, just possible that this latter may be the article alluded to by W. C., and of which I have a specimen (formerly in the possession of Dr. Mead). It is termed "Terra Samia sigillata," of circular form, about $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch diameter, and about half an inch thick. It is of a pale dull red colour, and has apparently been made into a paste and dried in a mould. The Turks are said to have derived a considerable revenue from the exportation of this article; it was therefore, to prevent counterfeit, stamped with the official seal of the Pacha. I understand it continued as a medicine until about the year 1745, when it was deservedly expunged from the Pharmacopœia. If W. C. will favour me by an examination of this article he will, I think, see at once that it is quite unfit for the potter's use, as not possessing the requisite plastic properties of *clay*. It is possible that it may have been used as a colouring material, but in itself is nothing more than a "bole," or oxide of iron, and as such correctly described by Turnefort, who, by the way, seems to imagine it to be necessary to have *red clay* in order to make a *red pot*.

From a careful examination of Pliny's description of the "Terræ Samiæ," I do not think it likely that either of them could have been the material employed for the fine earthenware for which that island was celebrated.

I find W. C. still imagines that these utensils, of which we find such abundance (whole and fragmentary) in England, France, and Italy, and of which his own museum contains so many beautiful specimens, were really made in the Greek isle of Samos. That his opinion "is borne out by Pliny" I cannot wholly agree with him. The words are "Samia etiamnum in esculentis laudantur. Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italia." B. 35, c. 12. So that the latter place stands at least upon as good a footing as Samos. Neither can I agree that the quotations I adduced from Martial (xi. 28) and Persius (v. 183) prove his opinion. They are nothing more than illustrations of the *colour*, not the *locality*, of the utensils; which latter point is not touched upon.

The well-known passage from Tibullus,

"At tibi læta trahant Samiæ convivia testæ,"

not only proves that the Cumæan and Samian wares "were distinct" (which I never doubted), but proves also something more, viz., that the Samian potters made *drinking-cups* as well as "platters and dishes;" and the converse is equally clear, that other countries besides Samos furnished platters and dishes, as well as drinking-cups. We have therefore no right to infer that the vessels mentioned in these cases were necessarily Samian. Mr. Birch seems to consider

this article "Arezzo ware," and, as an authority for the term, referred me to a recent work by Fabroni. This pamphlet, published at Arezzo in 1841, is entitled "Storia degli Antichi vasi fittili Aretini." It contains engravings of various fragments found in Arezzo, with an immense assemblage of potters' stamps. Among the latter we recognise but few similar to those we find in England. The well-known name of PRIMVS certainly occurs. The author quotes a passage from a writer of the seventh century, Isidore of Seville, in allusion to the red vases of Aretium. Fabroni supposes the "Arezzo ware" to be similar to the Samian, and describes three pieces in Muratori's collection, stamped respectively SAMO, SAMIA, and SAMI. Whether these are veritable pieces of Samian pottery I cannot undertake to decide, but I freely give W. C. the benefit of the circumstance for as much as it may be worth; and I willingly coincide with him in saying that, whatever the locality whence this pottery may have been imported, the term "Samian" must have been derived from some supposed resemblance to the famous productions of that island.

And now, Mr. Urban, allow me to ask, *why* should the isle of Samos be supposed to produce a clay to which there is nothing analogous in any other part of the globe? When I expressed an opinion that England and France were supplied with this article "from Italy," I was not aware that all three countries possessed accessible materials, amply sufficient both in quality and quantity for the manufacture of earthenware of precisely the same character in colour, hardness, and texture as the so-called "Samian." Since my communication to your pages on the subject, I have, at the suggestion and with the valuable aid of my friend Mr. Reid, of Highgate, made numerous experiments with the clays at various depths in London and its vicinity. That the same material abounds in all three countries there is ample evidence. Fabroni's minute description of the Arezzo clay precisely accords with the characteristics of the vast stratum termed "the London clay," which I need scarcely remind your readers is one of immense extent and thickness. In Kent it is very abundant near the surface, as at Sheppey, Whitstable, etc. In Norfolk, Essex, and Middlesex it also abounds.* The similarity between the clay deposits of England and France is equally remarkable. When we consider the vast extent of these deposits in both countries, we may fairly infer that the same "school" of artists could produce the same description of articles, whether in England or France. The results of very many experiments with the "plastic clay," the "blue, or London clay," and the fine brown clay immediately above the latter, are nearly similar, and are sufficient to convince me of the correctness of my opinion. It is that brilliant coral-line glaze which constitutes the distinguishing feature of this ware, and which alone forms as yet the desideratum; although, from ex-

* *Vide* Penny Cyclopædia, art. "Clay."

periments now in progress, I believe it to be a combination of some of the oxides of lead and iron. On this point Mr. Shortt ("Antiq. Exeter," p. 112) gives the following extract from the "Archæologia," vol. xxv., p. 19: "There is this difference between the red pottery and the real Samian; that the one is glazed and the other uniformly unglazed; for the fine material of the latter, like the French porcelain, did not require glazing; while the other, formed of native clay, was washed and glazed with salt and a small portion of lead."

Yours, etc. E. B. PRICE.

P.S.—In justice to Count de Caylus, I must remind W. C. that the Count did not found his opinion *solely* from the abundance of ancient specimens discovered at Nismes, but also from a careful examination of the native clay of the neighbourhood. (*Vide* Menard, "Hist. de Nismes.")

I observe W. C. doubts if any specimens of this so-called "Samian ware" "have been discovered in Herculaneum or Pompeii." On this point I cannot do better than avail myself of the kind permission of Mr. A. J. Kempe to refer to his son-in-law, Albin Martin, Esq., of Silton, Dorsetshire, who has recently returned from Naples. The following extract from a letter of Mrs. Martin to her father will, I am sure, be deemed sufficient:

"In answer to the questions which Mr. Price asks, Mr. Martin can positively say that vessels of Samian ware have been found at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The museum at Naples contains numerous specimens (some with elegant designs on them, scroll work, etc.) of *tazzæ*, *pateræ*, etc., *similar to the fragments you possess*. At Puzzuoli I have myself picked up many small fragments of the ware lying about the tombs and in the road."

Thus it appears that, if this article really was *imported*, there is no great improbability in supposing it came from Campania. But if W. C. will try half a dozen experiments with the clays I have mentioned, in a common crucible, I think he will come to the conclusion that we need not travel to either Samos or Campania in quest of materials. It will, perhaps, be found, on investigation, that the material is most accessible in those districts where the discoveries have been most abundant.

E. B. P.

[1845, *Part I.*, p. 271.]

Having just read in your magazine an article upon the red Roman pottery found in this country, in which it is stated (p. 142) that I conceive it to be the red ware of Arezzo, as described by Dr. Fabroni, I must correct this part of the statement. In a communication lately addressed to the Society of Antiquaries,* I gave some analysis of Fabroni's work, because the observations of that author are new to

* See Report of the Society's proceedings in p. 178.

our British archæologists, and tend to connect indirectly the furnaces of Britain and Aretium. At the close of that paper I stated that I considered that the red Roman ware, commonly called Samian, was probably copied in the provinces from the Aretine ware, and I distinctly pointed out that the ware represented in Fabroni's plates was evidently of finer quality than that found in Britain; while the names of the potters differed, and the contractions *OF.* for *officina*, *M.* for *manu*, and *F.* for *fecit* or *figalinus*, common on the British ware, were of rare occurrence on pieces found in Italy. I could never conceive, with the evidence of the actual discovery of the very kilns in England, and the general diffusion of this contested red pottery, that it was entirely an importation from Italy.

There is, however, some reason for supposing that the relief ware was originated by the inhabitants of Italy and Etruria; for early vases found in the Etruscan sepulchres are of a heavy massive black clay, so coloured throughout and decorated with bas-reliefs, which, even at that period, were produced from a stamp; perhaps, in some instances, a cylinder of metal with the subject in intaglio was passed round the vase. Such are the black wares of Cervetri, the old Agylla, an Etruscan town, older than the foundation of Rome. Vases of a light red ware, not glazed like the Samian, exhibiting the same peculiarity of work, are found at the same place. This seems the prototype of the red Roman ware, and is to be traced through the secondary vases of the style found in Apulia and the Basilicata, occasionally decorated with bas-reliefs, varnished, fabricated between the period of the second Punic and the Social War, B.C. 220, down to the age of Roman art. From this period vases of red ware decorated with subjects in bas-relief are found all over Greece and the isles of the Archipelago. They differ according to the locality where found, which favours the idea of a local manufacture; while the styles of neighbouring countries much resemble each other, there being scarcely, if any, real perceptible difference between the red ware found in England and that in France. The exportation mentioned by Roman writers must have been comparatively trifling, and only for the use of the wealthier classes, or introduced till the provinces had made sufficient progress in the arts to manufacture for themselves.

Yours, etc.

SAMUEL BIRCH.

[1845, *Part I.*, pp. 365-367.]

I am induced again to trouble you with some further remarks on the Samian ware, as there have appeared in your magazine several notices respecting it.

In the first place I have to apologize to your correspondent E. B. P. for the trouble I caused him in searching so long in vain for the quotation from Pitiscus—which, however, now I have pointed out to

him, he says is of "*little authority*," being nothing more than the words of the lexicographer; but he must pardon me if I differ with him on that point, as I think it essential in our present inquiries. I perceive, however, in the minor correspondence of March, that the words "*little authority*" are explained as not having been intended to apply to the work as a whole, but merely to that particular statement as being of little antiquity.

He further observes, that upon examining the specimen of the "*Terra Samia sigillata*" in his possession, and which was formerly used medicinally, it appears to him quite unfit for the potter's use, not possessing the requisite plastic properties of clay. This I admit, but at the same time I must beg leave to intimate that the washing, burning, and doctoring this must have had in its preparation would destroy the plastic properties of any clay; consequently this does not derogate from the quality of the Samian earth generally, or the adaptation of it to the purposes of the manufacture of earthenware.

The Arezzo ware, spoken of by Fabroni, is altogether distinct from the Samian, both in colour and execution; the former being of a dark red, and the figures of more minute finish, probably tooled after they were moulded. The potters' names, too, are generally impressed outside the vase, and in most cases in two lines, while the siglæ M.—M.S.F.—O.F.—etc., are altogether omitted. The pattern round the top of the Aretine vases is evidently the *ovolo*, or egg and arrow decoration, similar to that depicted on Greek vases (*vide* Hamilton), but unlike the border on the Samian, which is formed of festoons of drapery, with a cord and tassel pendent between each, appearing somewhat similar at the first glance, but the difference being easily detected upon close inspection.

Isidore of Seville speaks of a red ware as being the manufacture of Aretium, but does not identify it with the Samian; the passage runs thus:

"Aretina vasa, ex Aretio municipio Italix, dicuntur ubi fiunt, sunt enim rubra. De quibus Sedulius—

'Rubra quod appositum testa ministrat olus.'

Samia vasa quidam putant ab oppido Samo Græciæ habere nomen, alii, dicunt cretam esse Italix, quæ non longe a Roma nascitur quæ Samia appellatur."

(Isidor, iv. 497.)

Here Isidore is doubtless speaking of two red wares, and even in his time (7th century) there appears to have been a difference of opinion as to the locality of the Samian ware; the quotation from Sedulius would not solely apply to the Arezzo ware, but to any dish of a red colour.

Mr. Birch (March, p. 271) states:

"I could never conceive, with the evidence of the actual *discovery of the very kilns* in England, and the general diffusion of this contested red pottery, that it was entirely an importation from Italy."

It is true that kilns have been discovered in England, as I mentioned in my first communication on this subject [*ante*, p. 549], where Mr. Artis also discovered the pottery in the kiln; but which was of a slate colour, so coloured, as that gentleman observed, by smothering the kiln at the time of baking it; the animals and ornaments depicted on them are of a very rude character, and altogether of a different class of art to the Samian. This, in my opinion, militates against the supposition that the red ware was manufactured here; for I cannot conceive that the two wares, so distinct in form and feature, fabric and design, could have been made in the same country at the same period. It cannot be supposed for a moment that pottery was not made in Britain during the occupation of it by the Romans, for I have urns in my possession of an era centuries antecedent to their arrival, simply dried in the sun, and when the use of the lathe was unknown. I do not think it would be a correct inference, that merely because a kiln is discovered in England it follows that this particular kind of red pottery was manufactured in it, any more than we can conclude that because the English clay *could be* manufactured into the same consistency and colour, that it was necessarily so.

I certainly am still of opinion (although willing to be convinced if proof is adduced to the contrary) that, from the circumstance of so many specimens being continually found wherever the Romans established their dwellings, this is the identical Samian which Pliny says was much lauded for eating meals out of, and in the next sentence he says (evidently alluding to it) that it was transported over land and sea to all parts of the world, and the same as I have shown in my former communications so repeatedly mentioned by Latin authors, and also frequently alluded to as the "*Lanx pampinata*," "*Filicata patera*," "*Patina hederata*," "*Discus corymbiatus*," etc.; and I cannot help thinking, from the exact similarity in the colour, forms, and texture of the specimens discovered throughout Europe, that the manufacture was local and not general.

If these are not the Samian vessels, what are? Search the museums and collections of the Roman era at home and abroad, can anything fitter or better adapted for the purposes of the table be found in them? We see vases of elegant form and extreme tenuity, having one side more elaborately finished than the other; these were designed for ornament, not for use. We also see amphoræ, and what have been termed mortaria, and numerous vessels of coarser material, of great thickness; these undoubtedly were intended for culinary purposes, more useful than ornamental.* Again, we perceive

* It may not be generally known that some of these earthen vessels were of such magnitude as to have been of sufficient capacity to hold a man. Columella terms them *ventrosas*, or big-bellied. One of these formed the habitation of Diogenes. On a marble bas-relief from the Villa Albani is represented the meeting of Alexander and Diogenes under the walls of Corinth; the latter is seen inside an earthen tun broken in several places, and mended with short pieces of wood or metal. A dog is seen on the vessel, the constant companion of poets and philosophers.

this red ware in which the two qualities before mentioned are combined, and although bearing upon it the beautiful *relievo* figures, elegance of design, and beauty of colour, yet still of sufficient thickness to bear the constant wear and tear to which it must have been subjected in being moved on and off the board.

I am altogether much pleased that my paper has elicited from your correspondents a continuation of the subject; and am sure there can be but one motive in pursuing the inquiry, namely, of discovering its probable origin and locality, thereby endeavouring to settle this *vexatila questio*.

We must at the same time beware of the censure contained in the proverb used on a somewhat similar occasion,

"Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro,"

thus translated :

"The potter hates another of his trade,
If by his hand a finer dish is made ;
The smith his brother smith with scorn does treat,
If he his iron strikes with brisker heat."

Yours, etc. W. CHAFFERS.

ON HELMETS WORN BY THE ROMANS.

[1852, *Part II.*, pp. 440-453.]

The general opinion is that the Greeks and Romans fought with uncovered faces; and most of the galeated heads of their warriors, or of Minerva, Bellona, etc., have their full features visible.* The finding therefore, in 1796, at Ribchester [*ante* 165] a helmet with a visor not like those of the Middle Ages, with merely slits, sometimes formed by stout interlacing bars, for the sight or breath, but bearing the features of a fully developed human face, with the eyes, nose, mouth, and chin regularly and beautifully shown, was an important addition to our archæological evidences; and Mr. Towneley, in the description of it, as the most distinguished ornament of his cabinet, communicated in 1798 to the "*Vetusta Monumenta*," vol. iii., pp. 1-12, might justly be proud of it as the only example extant. He slightly alludes to some traces of visors in the Museum at Portici, but if he means only those plastic monuments from the tomb of Scaurus from Pompeii, described by Mazois (*Pomp. i.*, pl. 32), the exclusiveness of his valuable relic would not have been thereby contradicted; they only produced evidence that the practice of a mask over the face was not unknown to the Romans, at least in their combats of gladiators, to which these sculptures seem alone to refer, and of which engravings may be seen *s. v. Gladiatores*, in Smith's "*Dictionary of Antiquities*."

The British Museum has acquired the remarkable helmet found at

* Montfaucon, "*Antiquités Expliq.*," tom. iv., lib. ii., p. 40. Il y avoit des casques, et surtout ceux à la Greque, qui pouvoient se rebattre sur le visage et le couvrir : je n'en ai point vu encore un de la première antiquité qui eut une visière mobile à la manière des visières de ces derniers tems.

Ribchester, along with the valuable marbles and terra-cottas of the Towneley collection ; but, whatever the beauty, that institution can no longer boast of the exclusiveness of this visor. The accompanying engraving represents a similar one which has been subsequently discovered in the neighbourhood of Weisbaden, a country fertile in archæological results, and which rejoices also in the liberality and zeal of a "*Verein für Nassauische Alterthümer*" to make them known and elucidate them, under the learned editorship of their secretary, Herr Archivarius Habel of Schierstein, in their *Annalen*, from which I condense the following account :

About the middle of June, 1827, in forming a new military work in the neighbourhood of Mainz, the workmen dug up this mask at a depth of 14 *schuh* (16 to 17 feet) from the surface. The earth showed, by the irregularity and interruption of its layers as regarded the surrounding soil, that there had been here formerly a deep hole, perhaps a natural depression of the ground, afterwards filled up. Some human vertebræ were found near, and within the visor some slight remnants of the bones of the nose, *in situ*, if I may be allowed the expression. Subsequent diggings in the same place only produced a few joints of a horse ; nothing else was found. But as the position of the mask was transversely to the ditch the workmen were digging, it is extremely probable that all the other bones of the skeleton may have been carted away before attention was directed towards them. The mask was found looking downwards, somewhat on its side, and on the left temple a cut or blow is still visible ; so that we may presume that we have here the remains of a Roman horseman, who, after being slain and plundered of everything but this mask, was thrown into the deep hole formerly here. The Pompeii figures above mentioned include two equestrian figures fighting in masks, but the scale is there too small to say that anything but eye-holes are pierced, without the other features of nose, lips, cheeks, chin, etc.* The bones found here seem to militate decidedly against Mr. Towneley's supposition that his Ribchester relic was intended for the upper part of a trophy ; and I believe no instance can be produced from the numerous sculptures of them remaining on coins, triumphal arches, etc., where the surmounting helmet is furnished with a visor : the thinness of this example would certainly be unfavourable to the supposition of its usefulness as a piece of defensive armour, but, if the mask were really a portrait of its wearer, the effeminacy of feature would allow us to form a weak opinion of the man who, even in martial array, and if need were on the battle-field, desired to be

" —neat, trimly dress'd,
Fresh as a bridegroom "—

as lightly, and with the least possible annoyance from weight.

* This mask was transmitted by General Pellet, the superintendent of the military works, to Vienna.

In the Weisbaden example, on the contrary, the mask was of a considerable thickness (*Annalen*, vol. i., 2ter heft, p. 78, note), and another difference was very remarkable in the mode by which it was attached to the helm ;* this was by a hinge from the front of the helmet, as is plainly perceptible in the drawing, so that the visor could be let up and down by the wearer when necessary, like a lid or flap, and when in combat would be secured by a strap under the chin, as a rivet is perceptible under the right ear, with the small remnant of a leather strap still adhering, with a corresponding rivet under the left ear, to which it could be attached. The eyeholes and an opening betwixt the lips were the only orifices by which light or air could be admitted to the wearer, or by which he could talk ; the nostrils and ears were unperforated ; all which it had in common, except the open nostrils, with the Ribchester example. It is certainly difficult to imagine how an uninterrupted vision, and freedom of respiration, so necessary in combat, could have been sustained under such an obstruction to both ; but that this was possible, even in the closer kind of helmets of the Middle Ages, is shown by two figures of knights of Katzenellenbogen, formerly placed upon their tombs in the abbey church of Eberbach, in the Rheungau, but now in the gardens of the palace at Biberich. One of them represents the bust of the figure of Count John, who died in 1444. The other that of another Count, of about the date of 1350. The flap or lid to cover the face is here perfectly apparent, exactly joined like the Nassau mask from the top, and the admission for light and breathing seem much more restricted. It may therefore perhaps be desirable to mention some passages from the classics, by which the general opinion that the Romans never had their faces covered in battle may receive considerable modification :

“ ——— ardua primus
Ad muros dux signa rapit. Tenuata jacendo
Et macie galeis abscondunt ora, malusque
Ne sit spes hosti, velatur casside pallor.”

Silius Italicus *de Bello Punico*, lib. xiv. v. 634.

The context explains that when the Roman general Marcellus besieged Syracuse, and his soldiers had suffered much, and become emaciated, they were ordered by him to hide their faces in their helmets, that the enemy might not perceive their emaciation and gain courage for fresh resistance. Drakenbrock (edit. *Ultratraject*. 1717) is of opinion, from this passage, that the ancients wore also closed helmets. Statius, in his *Thebaid*, has many passages which seem in a great measure to bear out the same conclusion. Antigone addresses her brother Eteocles, who is hastening to battle against his brother Polynices, and desires him to open his helmet (*genas* may

At least I suppose so, as my opportunities of examining the Ribchester helmet have only been through the glass cases of the Museum.

also mean his eyelids), that she may see what effect her words have upon him :

XI. 373. " —Saltem ora trucesque
Solve genas, liceat vultus fortasse supremum
Noscere dilectos, et ad hæc lamenta, videre
Anne fleas."

Eteocles remains obdurate and silent.

385. "Jam tacet, erumpunt gemitus lacrimasque fatetur
Cassis."

And when both brothers meet in deadly hate and hostile arms—

408. "Coerunt pares sub casside vultus."
525. " —Ignescencia cernunt
Per galeas odia et vultus rimantur acerbo
Lumine."

And lastly, when their father seeks the dead bodies—

603. "Dum tractat galeas atque ora latentia quærit."

From all these passages, and especially from the last, it can hardly be denied that the features of the parties must have been hidden by the helmet ; and to the objection that the scene of action is laid in Greece, we may reply that the poet Statius, who lived under Domitian (†91 A.C.), though he recited a Grecian legend, would most probably clothe it in the costume of his age and country.

An obscurer writer, of whom very little is known, Alcimius Avitus, has two lines very applicable to the same view :

"Inclusa galeis facies et ferrea vestis
Cinxerat iratas armorum luce tenebras."

The *ferrea vestis* exactly describes the metal mask in question, and *tenebras*, put here for eyeholes, seems to indicate that it was fully featured also like it.

Plutarch, in Camillus, gives us a passage which may be taken in the sense :

"As he knew the chief force of the barbarians lay in their swords, he furnished most of his men with helmets of well polished iron."

He, Camillus, had made for the greater number *entire helmets of iron*, and smooth on the cheeks, that the swords (of the Gauls) might slip off or be broken.

We may, however, adduce an earlier passage from Papinius Statius (Theb. iv. 20), where the subject may be thought less restricted, and the presumption of a Greek custom less probable. The lines relate the departure of an army from home, and are worthy of quotation from the beauty of the language :

"Jamque suos circum pueri nuptæque patresque
Funduntur mixti, summisque a postibus obstant.
Nec modus est lacrimis rorant clipeique jubæque
Triste salutantum, et cunctis dependet ab armis

Suspiranda domus : galeis juvat oscula clausis
Inserere, amplexuque truces deducere conos.
 Illi quis ferrum modo, quis mors ipsa placebat,
 Dant gemitus, fractæque labant singultibus iræ."

Appollinarius Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont (†482), has one or two slight passages bearing upon the subject. In his poem in praise of Anthemius, speaking of the Hun mothers, who compressed the noses of their children that their helmets might fit better, his words are (v. 254):

"Obiundit teneras circumdata fascia nares,
 Ut galeis cedant. Sic propter prælia natos
 Maternus deformat amor."

Though perhaps it would apply, as to a visor, equally to a nose-piece attached permanently to the helm, as we see frequently in the casques of the knights of the Middle Ages; on the Bayeux tapestry; and on the chessmen described by Sir Frederick Madden, from the island of Lewis ("Archæologia," vol. xxiv., p. 203*).

Ibid. v. 321. "Non galea conclusa genas," which is put in opposition to "nuda," and, v. 392,

"Inclusæ latuerunt casside tures."

All the passages cited, however, are from secondary or very late writers, and may therefore prove only what is here contended for, an exceptional—perhaps an individual—usage; for no doubt the open visage was the general rule to the hardy veterans of the Republic, or the early Cæsars; and it was therefore consistent and prudent at the battle of Pharsalia, that Cæsar, as we learn on the authority of Lepsius ("De Militia Rom.," lib. iii., dial. v.), directed his soldiers to strike at the faces of their enemies—"miles feri faciem."

From all the above facts and citations I am induced to believe that cases might occur where the Roman soldier covered his face with a visor, and that the Ribchester helmet was neither made for a trophy, nor, as is contended by the Rev. Stephen Weston ("Archæologia," vol. xiii., p. 223), for a processional mask in the Bacchanalian rites, but actually, like its Wiesbaden fellow, for defence in combat, though of a late period of the empire.

WILLIAM BELL, Ph. Dr.

* Similar sets of chessmen, cut from the morse ivory, are in the Museum at Copenhagen, v. *Leitfaden*, etc., by Etaats-Rath Tomsen, p. 68.



Notes, Addenda, and Index.



NOTES.

1 (page 4). This refers to an article entitled "Works of the Romano-Gaulish Ceramists," 1860, part ii., pp. 602-609. The following passages are perhaps worth quoting here :

"The site of the discovery is in a field called Lary, near the little village of Toulon, to the south of Moulins. Here were found not only the objects described, but the remains of the furnaces in which they had been fired, the moulds in which many of them had been cast, masses of the white clay which composed them, and other indisputable evidences of an extensive establishment of ceramists, which appeared to have existed over a considerable number of years, perhaps to the extent of two or three centuries. The manufacture of statuettes and other works in white clay was very evidently the principal business of these potters; their settlement at this particular spot having been apparently induced by the abundance of the material in the immediate vicinity where are situated the pits which furnished the supply.

"The woodcut on p. 604 gives a view of those kilns of which the foundations and walls had been better preserved than many others of which traces only remained. They are each about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and about 9 feet in length: the upper portions are, unfortunately, destroyed. The masonry is composed of large masses of clay worked into the form of bricks, the dimensions of which are usually 18 inches by 12 inches, and 8 inches in thickness. The furnaces were arranged, as appeared by these ruins, in groups of sometimes a dozen or fifteen.

"The vast collection of specimens of the workmanship of the potters, which M. Tudot has succeeded in publishing,* consists of moulds bearing the names of the ceramists who executed them; perfect figures of divinities, and of personages unknown; busts, medallions, and various fragments; animals, vases, and ornaments, all in white clay; matrices, and punches or stamps for the red vases, etc.

"Of the divinities the figures of Venus are by far the most numerous. They are of various types, and are treated with more or less skill, as is the case with most of the other figures. The goddess is, in some examples, represented as standing in a semicircular alcove or shrine (*edicula*), richly decorated. These shrines exhibit considerable taste and elegance, as well as diversity of design and ornamentation. Venus is the only deity to whom these *edicule* are allotted. Figure 1 will convey a notion of both; and figure 2 represents one of the best-designed figures of Minerva.

"Minerva is the subject of comparatively few statuettes; but Abundantia, with

* "Collection de Figurines en Argile, œuvres premières de l'art Gaulois, avec les Noms des Ceramistes qui les ont exécutées. Par Edmond Tudot. 4to. (Paris: Rollin. 1860.)"

cornucopia and patera (the Dame Abunde of medieval myths), is of frequent occurrence. Still more popular must have been the goddess Fecundity, for her effigies are not only the most numerous in this collection from the Allier, but they are also to be met with in museums and cabinets of local antiquities throughout France.* As upon coins, she holds one or two infants in her arms, and is seated in a chair of wicker-work with a high back (fig. 3). There is no doubt that these deities, Abundantia and Fecunditas, bear relation to the *deæ matres* of inscriptions and monuments, as M. Tudot observes. The motive which rendered them all so very popular was the same; but at the same time they are not identical. The *deæ matres* are, when represented, invariably a trinity: these white clay figures are single and not grouped; the latter are a personification of human fecundity, the former typify the fruitfulness of the fields, the vineyards, the orchards, and the woods. In one instance (No. 51), a rabbit, an emblem of fecundity, is introduced instead of the infant; and some of the figures are accompanied by a single infant, or by three children standing. An example from Bourges, introduced by M. Tudot for comparison, represents a seated female holding a cornucopia in one hand, and what possibly may have been intended for a drinking-vessel in the other. Upon the pedestal is the Gaulish hog, and the maker's stamp, POSTIKADA, probably for PESTIKA. MA(*nu*), which appears upon the back of a Venus.

"Next come female figures on horseback. Two hold the cornucopia and patera; these may probably be intended for the goddess Epona, the protectress of horses and stables. Another represents a woman in a travelling dress, with a hood. There is also a *biga* carrying two persons. The horses are heavily yoked with woodwork upon the necks, reminding us of the clumsy horse-furniture to be seen in the rural districts of France at the present day.

"The images of gods are comparatively few. They comprise Hercules, Mercury, the head of Jupiter, and a bust of Apollo: these are palpably recognised by their character and emblems. Some others may possibly be intended for topical divinities. But by far the greater number are feminine, and of these the personifications of maternity indicate the favourite object of adoration of the population of Roman Gaul. These images were doubtless manufactured for the lower classes, and were probably purchased chiefly by women, in whose houses they were the *lares*, or household divinities; the precursors of the medieval and modern popular figures of the Virgin and Child which are to be found at the present day in almost every cottage in France.

"The medallions, or discs, are among the most artistic productions from the field of Lary. They are probably copies of the votive or honorary shields upon which the busts of deities and persons of distinction were carved in relief. Pliny (Nat. Hist., xxxv. 3) gives a long account of the history and peculiarities of these shields, which are also frequently mentioned by other ancient writers.

"Another section includes busts, male and female, chiefly upon circular stands. Of these there is a considerable variety. The most remarkable was discovered by M. Tudot at Vichy, well known for its medicinal waters. For its beauty and rarity we here introduce an engraving from M. Tudot's drawing. The original, including the pedestal, is thirteen inches in height.

"The pedestal is a *cista*, or money-box, upon the principle of the well-known medieval and modern thrift-boxes of earthenware, and the church doors' box. The bust was attached to the box at the period of its manufacture. At the top is a slit to receive the money, and at the lower part of the back is an aperture to extract it. M. Tudot considers that the divinity represented upon the box is Apollo.

"The head," he observes, "is ornamented with a crown of lotus, a sacred plant which shows itself upon the surface of the water when the sun rises, and sinks below when the sun sets. The boyish physiognomy of the god seems the emblem of perpetual youth. The discovery of this image near the source of the hot springs does not permit us to doubt that the youthful Apollo, the god of medicine, was the tutelary deity of the place."

* "An example has very recently been found at Canterbury."

"There are a few groups which are of somewhat difficult explanation, as, for example, the child recumbent upon the back of a dolphin. In this the author, together with M. Maury, sees an illustration of the ancient tradition of the souls of the just carried to the Fortunate Isles.

"Another extensive series, representing persons in real life, is particularly curious and valuable for the examples it affords of Romano-Gaulish costume; and in the same point of view many of the divinities and other personages will be regarded with interest, for there is no doubt that the coiffures and the dress generally may be accepted as instances of fashionable and local styles at different epochs.

"Animal life is illustrated by lions, horses, sheep, oxen, apes, peacocks and other fowls. The horses give excellent notions of the mode in which they were harnessed. In this section M. Tudot has introduced an ass or mule laden with amphore. It does not appear to have been discovered at Lary; but from the explanation it gives of the manner in which these unwieldy and footless vessels were slung for carriage, it is a valuable contribution. Many of the apes are hooded and dressed as caricatures of human beings, conveying an impression of keen perception in the designers of the grotesque and ridiculous. To make this extraordinary gathering of fictile works complete, M. Tudot has introduced some puppets, or children's playthings, constructed in pieces and fastened together with wooden pins or wire. It should be understood that almost the whole of these statuettes are moulded in two pieces, which were united by the potter before they were placed in the furnace: thus the disunited halves are often discovered, such as the fragments found in London,* which probably were imported from Gaul, as they seem identical with some of those engraved by M. Tudot. It may also be noted that these figurines vary in length from about two to thirteen or fourteen inches.

"No less than twenty-eight potters' names appear upon the moulds, all of which are traced with pointed wood or metal. They are in semi-cursive characters, autographs, in fact, either of the makers or of the proprietors of the moulds; for AVOTI FORMA, 'the mould of Avotus,' and NATTI FORMA, 'the mould of Nattus,' may indicate either that the moulds were executed by those persons, or that they were merely the owners. It is probable, however, that they may have been both the makers and the manufacturers, employed by the proprietors of the establishment; and that the names were impressed the more readily to identify the products of the respective ceramists."

2 (page 16). The article referred to here is a "topographical description of Sawston, Cambridgeshire," 1815, ii. 25-28, and will be printed in the topographical volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*.

3 (page 20). It is only fair to remind readers that this county now possesses one of the most active of the county archaeological societies, chiefly owing to the untiring exertions of Mr. Richard S. Ferguson, F.S.A.

4 (page 21). This refers to "a dissertation on the Roman wall," 1746, pp. 357-358, but it is not important enough to reprint.

5 (page 32). Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* is not yet finished. The third volume of the second part was edited by Dr. Raine. Part ii., vols. i.-iii., and part iii., vols. i.-iii., were published in 1827-40; but part i. is not published.

6 (page 33). Huebner's reading, p. 74, is as follows:

I . O . M .
GENIO
LOCI
BR .
S . VAP .
OLLINA
RIS PRIN
CEP . CE

* "Illustrations of Roman London," p. 109."

and he extends it as follows: "Jovi optimo maximo genio loci Brovonacensis (?) Septimius Apollinaris princeps centuriæ."

7 (page 39). Huebner's reading, p. 159, is as follows:

MART COC . M .
LEG II AVG
SANCTIANA
SECUNDINI
D . SOL . SVB CV
RA . ÆLIANIS
CVRA OPPVS
FELIX OPTIO

and he extends it as follows: "Marti cocidio milites legionis ii Augustæ centuria sanctiana centuria secundini d . . . sol . . . sub cura Æliani centurionis (?) curavit oppius Felix optio."

8 (page 41). This communication, 1836, part ii., pp. 154-157, relates principally to coin finds in Exeter, and will be printed in the numismatic volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*. The following passage, however, may well be quoted here:

"Exeter was the *hibernaculum*, or most westerly winter station of the Romans. In the MS. of Richard of Westminster an iter is laid down in the manner of that of Antoninus, which leads us as far west as the river Fal; thus from Dorchester to Moridunum (Seaton) xxxiii.; Isca Dunmonium xv.; Durio Amne (Totness), Tamara-Voluba-Cenia (Tregony in Cornwall). The fifteenth Itinerary of Antoninus is dreadfully mutilated, and totally wrong in that part relating to Dunmonium. I have endeavoured to amend it as follows, for it was most incorrectly transcribed: from Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) to Vindoecladia (or Cranbourne), supposed by some to be near Wimborne Minster, 13 miles; from thence to Durnovaria (Dorchester) 36; from which to Moridunum 36 miles further, correcting the 8 between Cranbourne and Dorchester, which would only give us 15 English miles from Old Sarum to the latter place. From Seaton in the Iter we have only 15 miles to Isca (and also in that of Richard of Westminster), which is far from being correct; I have therefore substituted 25 as more probable, and we must recollect that the Roman miles are shorter than ours from 3 to 4 in the main proportion. We must imagine the intervening stations to be lost; for this never can answer for the distance to Exeter from the important station at Moridunum (proved satisfactorily by the learned antiquary, Mr. Northmore, of Cleve, as well as before his time by Gale, Stukeley, and Camden, to have been Seaton), to which there was a regular chain of encampments from the winter station at Dunium or Dorchester, to say nothing of the Great Fosseway and other roads leading to it. Sidbury Castle, the Tidortis of the Romans, which overlooks the vale leading to Sidmouth, was the intermediate or *lost* station between the *hiberna* at Exeter and Seaton, although no mention is made of it in the above Iter. Sidbury in Domesday, terra episcopi Exon. Sideberie and Tidortis, derived from the Cornish 'Tyd,' or British 'Tia' and 'Tydhyn,' in Welsh 'land'; 'Dour' or 'Dur,' the common name of water in many ancient languages; and 'Tiz' or 'Tuz,' a people, sept, or family, in the Cornish or British (in Armorica 'tyd'); that is, the people or tribe inhabiting the land irrigated by the waters of the Sid, occupying the site of the five Combes, known as Sandcombe, Harcombe, etc.

"While I am writing this, a friend presents me with a parcel of coins found near Broadgate (where the Roman Penates were discovered in 1778) by workmen digging for laying on water-pipes; four of these are of Constantine; another bears a Romulus and Remus with a she-wolf; another is of the Lower Empire; and the best of them is of Carausius himself. I hurry down to the Western Market. One labourer informs me of a huge mass of terra cotta or Samian pottery just dug up, with figures of Diana, of fauns, of animals of the chase, gladiators, etc.;

another jostles me with a large brass coin of Faustina; two or three more hand me a Roman key, coins of Claudius, Vespasian, of Postumus, of Valens; another entreats me to purchase a medal of Nero with the Macellum Aug. on reverse. I retire highly gratified; they also, but from different motives: I that I have secured all the antiquarian treasures; they that have got some modern British coin in exchange, to assist in prolonging their libations at the tavern. After dinner I am beset by others from various quarters, some with Constantines, others with a Claudius or Domitian; another brings me a groat of Henry VII. from the Circus; the next has something from the site of the Old Benedictine Monastery. No place like Exeter for coins—Chester and York hide their diminished heads—and Castor too!

"A prodigious quantity of that beautiful red Roman ware known by the name of Samian, or perhaps Etruscan pottery (made, probably, in imitation of both), is found here. The *simpule* and *paterae*, used for libations, and buried with the dead in the Busta, are made generally of red earthenware, in imitation of the Samian, prescribed for the Roman sacrifices ('Ad rem divinam quibus est opus Samiis vasis utitur'—Plaut.). The latter was not generally glazed, its fine material not requiring glazing.—'Archæologia,' xxv.

"In South Street I discovered, two years since, traces of four cohorts of Roman auxiliary troops at Exeter, three of them from their pottery; either, it is probable, made by their own *figuli*, who, like the *fabri* that excelled in the tessellated pavements, must have followed the armies of that powerful empire, or brought over from their respective countries. Of these I have almost an entire *patera*, inscribed II VAN, a memorial of the second cohort of the Vangiones of Worms in Germany; other pieces of the Regini of Bavaria, or ancient Rætia; of the Rutheni of Aquitaine; also the bronze hilt of the sword or dagger (*pugimculus*) of the tribune of a corps of German auxiliary troops from the Rhine, being the Frisian Horse. The inscription is, Σ. ΜΕΦΙΤΙ. Τ. ΕΚ. ΦΡΙΣ. ('Servii Mefiti Tribuni Equitum Frisiorum'); a Roman bath, fibula, two curious keys, tessellated pavements, and abundance of black sun-baked and sepulchral urns.

"The Samian ware is extremely fine, being ornamented with curious arabesques and subjects from the mythology. Some alluded to the chase; others bore gladiators fighting, fauns dancing, Diana, Orpheus charming the wild beasts with his lyre, Mercury with his purse and cap; there were also figures of tridents, birds, hares, lions, griffins, dolphins, etc. One specimen bore two of the Salii or dancing-priests of Mars, first instituted by Numa, performing their antic dance with the *ancylia* or sacred shields, so called *a saliendo*. One of these figures bears the *fascinum erectum*; the other has a brass helmet peculiar to the Salii. Several of these specimens have the potter's mark upon them; on one is that of OF. MURRAN, on another OF. MAN. UR., being also of Murranus, the syllables being transposed, and the M omitted accidentally; others bear OF. CRESTIO, OF. AQU., OF. PRIMI, and OF. MODESTI. Of this latter potter, specimens were lately found at Langres in France, and in different parts of England—*vide Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1836, p. 537; proving that much of the ancient pottery was imported. One coarse fragment of a great vase or *olla* has an interesting inscription, commemorating Verannius, proprætor of Britain in Nero's time (V. Tac. Ann. xiv): Σ. VERIVS. VERANIVS., who preceded Suetonius Paulinus. Of potters' marks OF. NICRI (Wurtemberg) MAR, OF. BASSI, REG. VIVES, ODIO, etc.

"It is my intention to embody some matter of interest relating to the Roman roads in our vicinity, the great connection of which was with the Ikenild Street and the Great Foss Way. The *Æstiva*, or summer stations of the Roman legionaries, are to be traced in this neighbourhood, on Stoke Hill and Duryard, as well as at Killerton, which communicated through ancient Isca with the Aulana Sylva at Woodbury Camp, and with Tidortis (Sibbury), and other camps commanding the vale of the Otter and course of the river Exe, as well, no doubt, with other chains of posts, across the Jugum Oerinum (Dartmoor) to Hartland, and through Crediton to Molland, by Posberry Camp, Tedburn St. Mary, and Berry Castle in Woldfardisworthy, towards South Molton.

"Yours, etc. W. T. P. SHORTT."

9 (page 53). Mr. Barnes communicated a short note, 1839, i. 114, stating his opinion that "the circular pieces of Kimmeridge coal, called Kimmeridge coal money, evidently turned in a lathe, out of the shaly kind of stone coal of Kimmeridge, in Dorsetshire, where most if not all of them have been found, were never used as money, but were waste pieces of stuff from the chuck of a lathe, used on the spot at some remote time, in turning vessels or ornaments, for which there was then a considerable demand. I thought so from observing that, although turned in a lathe, they were not carefully wrought up, and that they had through them, either a square hole in the middle, or two or three round ones at some distance from it; so that the piece of stuff from which they had been cut might be kept in revolution under the tool, by being put on two or three points of a chuck, or on a square mandrel head, and within a few days my opinion has been greatly strengthened, if not completely verified. As some men were, last month, lowering Fordington Hill, in Dorchester, they exhumed several skeletons, and with them two or three urns, a finely-wrought necklace of beads of glass and amber connected by fine brass chainwork, and two other articles—a barrel-shaped amulet about an inch and a half in diameter, and a bracelet, both turned in a lathe, of Kimmeridge coal. An antiquarian neighbour of mine suggests that many such ornaments, which have been exhumed from barrows and elsewhere, and have been stated to be of *jet*, may also be of Kimmeridge coal."

10 (page 61). The importance of this find may be ascertained by reference to Mr. Coote's *Romans of Britain*, p. 105.

11 (page 75). This communication was accidentally omitted from its proper place here. It will be found printed at pp. 387-388.

12 (page 91). "The subsequent communication" was as follows, 1854, part ii., pp. 248-249:

"The annexed plate exhibits a few of the Roman remains found in the recent excavations at Gloucester, and which we noticed in a former number of this magazine."

"Of the genuine nature of these relics there cannot be the slightest doubt, as most of them were found more than ten feet below the present surface. In our former article we mentioned the fact of the old Roman roadway existing under all the principal streets. We have since been able to ascertain that not merely in the main thoroughfares, but in many of the smaller streets, old Glevum corresponded, in plan, with modern Gloucester. Another curious fact is this, that many of the Roman remains were found *under* and not above the roadway, as if to show that the Roman buildings were of a much later date than the period of the occupation of the country. The vessel marked A in the plate is of a light red earthenware, and is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The shape is extremely elegant. Numberless fragments of similar utensils have been found, but all so much mutilated that it would be useless to engrave them. E is a specimen of one of the larger pieces; it is apparently part of a large water-jug; it is 7 inches wide at the top and 14 in diameter from handle to handle. Relics of this description were so numerous that they were actually mistaken for bones.

"B is the bronze lamp we mentioned in a former article. [*Ante*, p. 93.] Remains of gilding are distinctly visible on some parts of it, and a portion of the suspending chain is still attached to it. C and D show the perspective view and side elevation of a small altar, discovered in St. John's Lane, near the buried walls of a Roman habitation. It is evidently not part of the furniture of a temple, but one of the small altars which stood in the *atrium* of a private house, before the *penates*. It is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

"Several pavements and portions of Roman masonry have been uncovered. Near the Cross a thick wall nearly 15 feet in length ran parallel with the main drain now

* "*May*, page 486." [*Ante*, p. 90.]

being made in the centre of the street, and on a level with the old roadway ; and many paving tiles and masses of concrete were turned up. In Eastgate Street portions of several columns of large size were discovered, the order apparently Corinthian or Composite. In St. John's Lane a Doric capital, evidently belonging to the inner peristyle of the house it adorned, was rescued from destruction. The last and most important discovery was in Long Smith Street, an ancient thoroughfare leading from Southgate Street to the river Severn. Remains of a building at least 80 feet in length were exposed, and several pavements of various patterns. One of these was of extreme beauty, with a border of blue, red, and white tesserae, of an interlaced diagonal pattern, evidently the flooring of a sumptuous apartment.

"One would imagine that some public interest would be excited at the discovery of these interesting relics of the Roman sway in Britain ; that corporate bodies or local institutions would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity afforded of forming the nucleus of a local museum ; that the citizens would feel a pride and a pleasure in surveying the exhumed remains of Roman grandeur that once adorned the palaces of their Anglo-Roman ancestors. Alas ! we relate with shame and sorrow that no such interest was excited, and no attempt of any efficacy made to preserve from oblivion these relics of the past, at least not on the part of 'great ones in Israel.' Had it not been for the kind co-operation of Mr. Disney, the intelligent clerk of the works, and his assiduity in rescuing what to the greater portion of the multitude seemed totally worthless, this information would never have reached the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Perhaps we may be blamed for saying that no interest was excited, or that no relic was prized or sought for. Silver and gold coins were eagerly expected, and 'pots of money' supposed to be hidden somewhere ; but when none of these were forthcoming very little further trouble was taken in the matter.

"The tessellated pavement in Long Smith Street is an instance of Gloucester antiquarian zeal. Before Mr. Disney could interfere, before a drawing could be made or a note taken, a great part of the elaborate border had been broken with a pickaxe, and sold bit by bit to people who ought to have known better. It is satisfactory to relate that this wholesale destruction of a work of art was stopped in time to prevent its utter annihilation, and we hope soon to present our readers with a drawing of it, as well as of some very interesting fragments of ornamental pottery that have since been found. By the time the sewerage is completed, it will be possible to form a correct idea of the plan and extent of ancient Glevum, a subject which has occupied our attention for some time.

"When will the people learn to reverence the remains of antiquity, and to prevent their wanton destruction ? Keats sings that

'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever ;'

and this may be applied to works of art as well as natural objects. A man who has bestowed time and thought on the execution of a grand painting, a noble statue, or an exquisite piece of architecture, has in fact created an object which, as long as it lasts, is calculated to delight, and, if properly viewed, to improve the human race, and has a right to expect that posterity will cherish and protect the work on which he has spent time and talent that no present applause or pecuniary gain can ever repay. And we maintain that the demolition or ill-usage of such productions is only second in barbarity to maiming the human figure or wantonly disfiguring a beautiful animal. And, whatever scoffers may say, there is something in the remains of antiquity which we seek for in vain in modern work. A fragment of a Roman column neglected and decayed fills us with emotions that the smoothest Ionic or most dapper Corinthian of a fashionable portico would evoke in vain ; and the modern architect with rule and measure may endeavour to 'restore' the parish church or time-honoured cathedral ; but, when he has done his best, will find that he has merely destroyed with the beauty of its gray stones and lichen-covered walls whatever of historic interest may yet linger about the ancient pile. Had our ancestors done their duty, there would have been no need for 'restora-

tion,' and, if we do ours, we may yet preserve those relics of art which a former race have left us as records of their power and their genius."

13 (page 105). The communication in 1824, ii. 164, refers to a 'wassel bowl' found in the Haw, which appears to be mediæval; 1825, i. 418, a letter by George Yates on an antique metallic vessel of a circular form found in the bed of the river on July 9th, 1825: the figures on the vessel "appear to represent mythological stories"; and 1825, i. 605, a letter from George Yates on the bowl found in the Haw.

14 (page 112). These communications are printed at pp. 301-302.

15 (page 145). A further communication from J. M. appears in 1855, part ii., p. 562, stating that the nuisance was discontinued and that a new stone wall had been built to prevent future dilapidation. But in the present year, while these volumes are going through the press, some further destruction has been reported to the editor by a gentleman who visited the pharos about Easter last (1887).

16 (page 152). The latter part of Mr. Parker's letter is omitted because it deals mainly with the architecture of the church, and does not throw further light upon the Roman material which was utilized in its construction.

17 (page 196). This will be found printed under Surrey, on page 327 (Part II.).

18 (page 235). An article on "Submarine Forests on the Norfolk Coast" should be consulted on the latter portion of this letter. It appeared in 1845, part i., p. 37, and is reprinted in *Gentleman's Magazine Library: Archaeology*, Part I., pp. 5-6.

19 (page 284). The remains at Wroxeter have been thoroughly examined. Other communications to the *Gentleman's Magazine* besides those printed in the text appeared in 1862, part i., pp. 398-405; 1862, part ii., pp. 598-601; 1863, part i., pp. 302-307. Mr. T. Wright published a *Guide to the Ruins of the Roman City of Uriconium at Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury*, in 1859, which reached a third edition in 1860, and a larger work, entitled, *Uriconium: a Historical Account of the Ancient Roman City and of the Excavations made upon its site at Wroxeter in Shropshire* (London, 1872). Besides this work, there are two other books on the subject, by Mr. W. F. Peacock in 1860, and Mr. J. C. Anderson in 1867.

20 (page 301). This inscription must, I think, be a forgery. It is not given in Huebner. It reads DEO . V . ERNO . STONO . COCID . OVIRIII . CERUSI. There are several inscriptions to the Deo Cocidio in Huebner. An example is preserved in the Newcastle Museum, and described in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1839, part ii., p. 186, as follows: "DEO² COCIDIO³ DECMV⁴ CAERELLI⁵ VS VICTOR⁶ FR⁷ COH⁸ II⁹ NER¹⁰ V¹¹ S¹² L¹³ M.—Deo Cocidio Decimus Caerellius Victor Præfectus Cohortis Secundæ Nerviorum, votum solvit libens merito.

"The s at the end of line 3 is obliterated, and line 4 is also a little decayed. The first stroke of the D in line 2, of M in 3, and L in 4 is lengthened upwards to form an I upon it; the o in Victor is formed on the body of T; and RE in Caerellius, and NER at the end of line 4, are in sigla.

"It is a dedication to the God Cocidius by Decimus Caerellius Victor, Præfect of the second Cohort of the Nervii. Cocidius was the same as Mars, as appears by the altar "*Deo sancto Marti Cocidio*," found at Lancaster in 1797. Many inscriptions to the same god have been found on the line of Hadrian's Wall in the county of Cumberland; but, as far as we have seen, this is the first that has been discovered in Northumberland." Mr. Barnes, *Ancient Britons*, considers this deity to be British.

21 (page 302). Other communications were sent as to the discovery of this pig of lead—1783, pp. 693, 694, in which is quoted a passage from Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. i., p. 58; and 1783, pp. 936-937, which states: "The dimensions of the present pig, as expressed on the plate, correspond within an inch to those of the Kirshaw and Hints pigs. The weight is near 156 lb.; that of the Kirshaw 1 cwt., 1 qr., 16 lb.; of the Hints, now in Mr. Green's collection at Lichfield, 150 lb.

Mr. Pennant * says this last weighs 152 lb., about 2 lb. more than the common pigs of lead.

"We have now a succession of these pieces for the reigns of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Hadrian.

"The piece of lead now under consideration is, like all the others, of a wedge-like shape prolonged, a transverse section of which would form a wedge, with the acute angle flattened for the sake of the inscription: the letters in Fig. 7 are embossed therein, Fig. 8 indented. On the basis is a hole, seemingly for the insertion of an instrument, whereby it might be lifted by a crane."

22 (page 303). The spelling of the name has caused this to be wrongly placed. It is Aldborough in Yorkshire, which is the site of Isurium, *not* Aldburgh in Suffolk.

23 (page 342). Huebner (p. 224) renders this inscription as follows: TI. CL. TR. LVT. BR. EX. ARG., agreeing with a correspondent in 1824, part ii., pp. 487-488, who writes: "In 'Archæologia,' vol. ix., p. 45, it will be found that a pig of lead was in 1787 found at Matlock Moor, Derbyshire, bearing the following inscription:

TI. CL. TR. LVT. BR. EX. ARG.

This inscription is the very same, it will be seen, with the exception of one letter (namely, an L instead of a P before the V), as the inscription in question; and perhaps a careful examination of this Sussex inscription may show that this difference is not real, for the want of the initial T, which, there can be little doubt, belongs to it, induces a belief that the inscription on these pigs has been rendered indistinct, either by rough usage or imperfections in the mould in which they were cast.

"What may be the true reading of these inscriptions, I feel incompetent to decide—inscriptions on pigs of lead being, in fact, the most difficult of explanation of any. The Rev. Thos. Crane, in 'Archæologia,' vol. xiii., p. 405, proposes to read the Derbyshire one—*Tiberii Claudii Tributum lutum Britannico ex Argento*. But the occurrence of the letters LVTVD on another pig of lead, also found in Derbyshire, has discountenanced this reading, and given probability to the conjecture that these letters are a contraction of the name *Lutudarum*, which is mentioned by Ravennas, next to Derwentio, and supposed to be Chesterfield. The BR, from the occurrence of BRV, on one inscription,† and of BRIG on another,‡ it is probable may be read either *Brigantum* or *Britannia*. As the letters EXARG-N occur also on the first of these last-mentioned inscriptions, the reading *ex argento* seems fully warranted, and may imply that these pigs are what is now called 'refined lead.' As far as I can learn, the letters TR are peculiar to the two inscriptions of Claudius; upon all others the Emperor's name occurs without such expression; it has hence occurred to me that this lead may have been a tribute imposed by Claudius on countries but imperfectly conquered, as Derbyshire was in his reign; but that when the countries were fully conquered, the lead then fell to the Emperor in his right as sovereign. The Derbyshire inscription, I am inclined to think, ought to be read—*Tiberii Claudii Tributum Lutudaro Britannia (or Brigantum) ex argento*."

24 (page 347). This refers to a topographical description of Box, which will be included in the topographical section of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*. It refers to Roman remains as follows, 1831, part i., pp. 595-596:

"I ventured (in your number for September last) to call the attention of your readers, and particularly that of the learned author of *Hermes Britannicus*, to a remarkably shaped hill overlooking the village of Box, called *Taut-ney Hill*, and suggested whether it had not been anciently dedicated to the Celtic Mercury *Tot*, as a presiding deity to a British settlement in the valley beneath. I mentioned the probability of the site of the parish church being formerly the seat of Druidical rites, and alluded to the fine spring of water which bursts out beside the church, as being probably 'the sacred Druidical spring, so intimately connected with the Celtic worship of the god Taut;' and that the tradition of the place was, that

* "Wales, i. 56."

† "See vol. liv., p. 85."

‡ "Gough's Camden, vol. iii., p. 53."

there had been formerly found baths supplied from this 'sacred spring,' which had been considered to have been Roman. I mentioned reasons why the Romans would probably be induced to venerate this spot, and stated that remains had very lately been discovered which verified the tradition. I am not aware that this village had previously been pointed out as having any remains demonstrating that the Romans once were resident here, which appears, however, undoubtedly to have been the case; for it is said, besides the baths above mentioned, that several beautiful tessellated pavements had formerly been found in the churchyard and gardens adjoining, but no spot could be pointed out where the same might with certainty be found, and the tradition was considered therefore as vague and unworthy attention. It is reasonable to suppose that lamentable ignorance occasioned, or at least did not prevent, their destruction as soon as discovered; for a year or two ago, in a garden belonging to Mr. Mullins adjoining the churchyard, in making some addition to a very old building, the workmen in sinking for a foundation struck upon the mutilated remains of a tessellated pavement about two or three feet below the surface of the ground. It appeared to have been part of a large square, and the part now discovered was evidently one of its corners. It had a wide ornamental border of no remarkable beauty, but what I particularly recollect (the few moments I had opportunity of seeing it) was that there were evident effects of repeated fires having been made, apparently about the middle of the square; for the tesserae toward the centre were burnt from their original colours to a brick-red, and the redness diminished in intensity as it approached the border, near which the colours were again all perfect.

This pavement must have been discovered when the old building was erected, for it appeared to run under its foundation, and if so, the remainder must have been then destroyed. The portion of it lately found, however, was considered worthy of preservation, and has been, it is hoped, safely secured from injury by means of large flag-stones carefully placed over it. In the adjoining garden, belonging to the same individual, is an ornamental fish-pond, in the middle of which many years ago was a small island, and communication with it was effected by planks supported on long stones set upright in the water. Though the island has long since been removed (by the grandfather of the present owner), one of the stones was left standing upright in the water, and so remained till a late summer, when the water being let out of the pond, the stone was pushed down, and immediately under it (embedded in the soil on which it had for so many years stood) were found very many Roman tesserae of different colours and sizes, some of which I have now by me. This pond had been for some centuries back a mill-head or dam to an overshot wheel; and 'Boxe mill,' mentioned in the 'Monasticon' as belonging to Farley Monastery, I have no doubt was situated near this spot, and driven by the water from this pond. Little remains of a mill are now visible here, excepting the place of the overshot wheel, and the circumstance that very many old-fashioned mill-stones are to be seen in the pavements about the premises. To the protection of this stone from the effect of the continual washing of the water must be ascribed the preservation for so long a period of these Roman tesserae in so singular a situation, and which contribute not a little to the support of the traditions above mentioned. Further investigations may make greater and more worthy discoveries; but these, the first-fruits, are sufficient to show that the Romans undoubtedly settled in this rural and delightful spot.

25 (p. 356). In No. xix. of *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Mr. G. Poulett Scrope published an account of this villa at Wraxhall. In that portion of the paper which describes the various apartments is the following passage:—'The five small rooms which occupy the western extremity of this range of building are its most interesting portion. They all possessed *hypocausts*, or hot air flues, beneath their floors, and together evidently formed a suite of hot bath-rooms, or *thermae*.' It is a very common mistake to term such rooms *baths*. They were in reality the winter apartments, and the *hypocausts* were for warming them. In this part of Roman villas baths are often

found, but they are of comparatively small dimensions, such as those found at Hartlip, in Kent, and engraved in the "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. ii. These were in close contiguity with the winter rooms, for the obvious reason of being easily supplied with water heated by the hypocaust. In this cold and foggy climate warmth to preserve life was first sought for and secured by the Roman masons: the baths usually occupied but a very small space, and there are instances to show they were sometimes detached from the main building. The arrangement of the flue-tiles up the sides of the rooms will be well understood by reference to the engravings of the room at Jublains, in France, 'Collectanea Antiqua,' vol. iii., pl. xxvi."

26 (page 365). Huebner's reading is: "Jovi optimo maximo Dolycheno Julius Valentinus ordinatus ex jussu ipsius posuit pro se et suis libens merito Præsente et Torquato consulibus." (p. 92).

27 (page 366). Huebner (p. 70) reads this inscription as follows:

IMP . CÆSS . L . SEP . SEVERO
PIO . PERT . ET . M . AVR . ANTONI
NO . PIO . AVGG . ET . P . SEP . GETA
NOB . CÆS . SVB . CVRA . L
ALFENI . SENECTIONIS
LEG . EORVM . PR . PR.

28 (page 375). Huebner (p. 55) reads this inscription as follows:—RERVRRINI.

29 (page 376). In the volume for 1867, part i., p. 508, Mr. C. Roach Smith says: "I have previously referred to the tile inscriptions found here [Slack], marked COH. IIII BRE., which have been read as indicating the fourth cohort of *Britons*. I had proposed, so long ago as 1852, in my 'Report on Excavations made on the Site of the Roman Castrum at Lymne,' p. 24, to read the BRE as BREVCORUM, though at that time I had not before me an inscription in which a cohort of the Breuci is mentioned. It has just been engraved by Dr. Bruce, for the third edition of his 'Roman Wall,' from which I copy it. The beginning is illegible; but it clearly refers to a cohort of the Breuci, and to their prefect, who died at Bremenium, where that stone was found. It may be inferred he was in command of them in Britain at this station. Dr. Bruce thinks there is scarcely room for IIII., and that the cohort was the second or third. The legible portions of the inscription are as follows: [Huebner, p. 182]

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COR I AVG . . .
LVSITANOR ITEM COH II.
BREVCOR . . SVB CVR VIAE
FLAMINIAE ET ALIMENT.
SVB CVR OPERVM PVBL .
IVLIA LVCILLA C . F . MARITO
B . M . VIX . AN . XLVIII
M . VI . DIEB XXV.

30 (page 402). Huebner does not record this inscription, and the probability is it is a forgery. The reading, as given in the plate in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, is not sufficiently clear to enable us to print it here.

31 (page 402). The inscription is:

D ANNVS
VAII RMIG TD
FBL
CFLAMER
OPENIS
H S F C

and Huebner, while recording it thus on p. 45, and giving another reading from Jones's *Brecknockshire*, does not attempt to decipher it.

32 (page 404). Huebner renders this inscription as follows: *Domino nostro imperatore quinto Trojano Decio pio felice Augusto . . .* (p. 210) and he adds in a note, "*Trojanus barbare scriptum est pro Trajano.*"

33 (pages 405 and 407). Huebner (p. 209) renders this as follows:

IMP. C. FLA. VAL. MAXIMINO INVICTO AVGVS.

If this reading is correct it destroys Mr. Talbot's theory of this being the latest inscription found in Britain.

34 (page 408). This stone as figured is not capable of being rendered by the ordinary Roman letters, and it is very questionable whether the inscription is really Roman. Huebner does not record it.

35 (page 413). Huebner (p. 188) reads this inscription as follows: *Deæ Minervæ cohors ii Tungrorum milliaria equitata civium Latinorum cui præest C. Silvius auxep præfectus.*

36 (page 414). This refers to a paper read at the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. John Reddock.

37 (page 414). Huebner reads this inscription as follows:

HERCVLI MAG[VSAN] . . . SACRVM VAL.

NIGRINVS DVPLI ALAE TVNGRORVM

and renders it "*Herculi Magusano sacrum Valerius Nigrinus duplicarius alæ Tungrorum*" (p. 195).

38 (page 459). The article by J. P. in 1841 (March), part i., pp. 257, 258, is on the 7th Iter of Antonine, and is printed *ante*, pp. 431-433. The reference to April is to a note by Verax, who says that Mr. Perkins of Christchurch has in the press a treatise on this Iter, but I cannot find that it ever appeared.

39 (page 470). The itinerary of Antonine was edited by Parthey and Pinder in 1848, and by Gale in 1709. Commentaries upon the Itinerary were published in 1658 by W. Burton, and in 1799 by Reynolds. The reader should consult Mr. Elton's *Origins of English History*, pp. 337-347, and Mr. Morgan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, 306-317.

40 (page 483). This communication, so far as it relates to Roman remains, is as follows, 1831, part i., pp. 387-389:

"London was formerly furnished with a wall and towers on the south side, but the mighty fish-abounding Thames in its flux and reflux to and from the sea, has undermined and thrown them down. Such is the substance of Fitz Stephen's assertion relative to the ancient boundary of London on the river side.* This early chronicler of the city's fame was born in the time of King Stephen, wrote in the reign of Henry II., and died A.D. 1191, under that of Richard I. He was therefore likely enough to have heard by tradition that such a fortification of the southern side of the city had existed in the Roman times; and a massy vallum reared by that nation did certainly, I believe, exist, not, however, to be ruined and swept away by the assaults of Neptune and Father Thames, but to repel their assaults, and confine their sway within due bounds.

"This vallum was not a wall in the accepted meaning of the latter word in our language. Vallum in the Latin tongue may be extended, I conceive, to mean any rampire formed by piles or stakes; in short, any bulwark (vallum), vallatum, vallis, between all which words there is an easy and obvious connection. Now, had Fitz Stephen's vallum or wall been of stone, it is natural to suppose, from the well-known durability of ancient masonry, that some traces of its foundations would

* "*Similiterque ab austro Londonia turrita et murata fuit, sed fluvius maximus piscosus Thamensis mari influo refluoque qui illæ allabatur, mœnia illa tractu temporis alluit, labefactavit, dejecit.*—Gulielm. Stephanides, *De Firmitate Urbis.*"

have been from time to time discovered in the prosecution of such public works as have necessarily made a section of the north bank of the Thames to the low water mark—nay, which have probed the very bed of the river, but without any such result. What, then, could be this wall, of which the honest monk so confidently speaks? The information which I have liberally received from an intelligent eye-witness,* who has accurately noted everything that appeared most worthy of remark in the progress of the works of the new London Bridge, and who may, I hope, one day give them in a detailed form to the respectable and useful society of which he is a member, will, I think, enable us to draw a pretty strong conclusion concerning the nature of Fitz Stephen's wall.

"In the deep excavations which have been made for the land arches of the new London Bridge across Thames Street, and through the site of St. Michael's Church, Crooked Lane, three distinct lines of embankment have been discovered at about 20 feet depth below the present surface of the streets. The first, on the spot now occupied by the south abutment of the Thames Street land arch, was composed of piles of oak and fir, and was backed with a quantity of Madrepore, which had been brought, I suppose, by ships as ballast, and thrown against the piles in that situation as rubbish to fill up a vacant space. The second line of embankment was formed under the north pier of the same land arch, and consisted of huge trunks of oak-trees, very roughly squared by the axe, against which had been nailed, or rather spiked, the sort of sheathing used in facing wharfs, usually, I believe, called camp sheathing, but of the most ponderous and substantial character. There was yet a third embankment 70 feet inwards of this last, that is still more northward, the structure of which was not so massive and substantial. Now the first line, from the circumstance of the Madrepore, was without doubt a comparatively modern work; the second was, I apprehend, constructed by the Romans, and no other than that very vallum or bulwark, of which a vague tradition had reached Fitz Stephen's time; the third or innermost constituted, I suppose, a yet earlier line of defence against the waters, which were reduced by degrees to their present bounds by the conquerors and civilizers of nations.

"Dugdale, indeed, in his treatise on 'Embanking and Draining,' with the strongest appearance of truth, surmises that the embanking of our principal rivers was an operation of the Romans, who were most enterprising engineers. Now Llyn Dinas,† ancient Lyndun, or London, the Hill Town on the Lake, must, before the embankment of the Thames, have peculiarly justified that appellation—I speak rather in confirmation of this idea than claiming it as original. On the east side it had low marshy grounds, which every flood-tide must have submerged, and the southern boundary of the broad expanse of waters which lay at the foot of this slight eminence must have been the hills of Peckham, Camberwell, and New Cross near Deptford: thus unconfined and unobstructed in its progress, the flood-tide would not only spread over a large surface, but from having no deep and compact column of water flowing from west to east to contend with, would rise much higher than at present. As the Romans proceeded with the work of embanking the Thames, this resisting column was created; the channel of the river, confined to a smaller space, deepened itself by the action and reaction of its tides, and the waters, which had formerly at high floods nearly laved the site of the monument now on Fish Street Hill, were gradually fenced out, which operation would necessarily require, as ground was gradually gained, successive embankments. A strong proof of this is that the soil of the present Thames Street is that of a quagmire, and that hundreds of loads of solid materials have been sunk in it, before the able architects of the new London Bridge would venture to place their abutments upon such a suspicious foundation.‡

* "W. Knight, Esq., F.S.A., sub-architect of the new London Bridge."

† "Din, the same as Dinas, a city. Its primary signification is a fortified hill or mount; hence the Roman terminations Dinum, Dinium, and Dunum. Dun in the Irish signifies a fort.—See *Antiq. Ling. Britann. Thesaurus*, by Thos. Richards."

‡ "Information of W. Knight, Esq., F.S.A."

"It is very natural to suppose that the operations which have been carried on in the bed of the river Thames for the construction of the new bridge would bring to light some testimony of a circumstantial nature, of the sacking of London by the spirited Boadicea, or Bonduca, wife of Prasutagus, King of the Iceni. While the profligate, the impious Nero was celebrating his juvenilia on account of his first being shaved, causing the hairs of his beard to be put into a golden box, and consecrating them, ridiculously enough, to Jupiter Capitolinus, making the aged attend the feasts of this farce, and join in the dance with the young; whilst he was singing as a harper the fable of Acis and the Bacchantes, applauded by five thousand soldiers stationed for the purpose in the theatre, who saluted him incomparable Cæsar, Apollo Pythicus;* whilst he was engaging the imperial city in these diversions, the dishonoured and incensed Queen of the Iceni, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand of her countrymen, advanced to the ravage of the principal Roman colonies in the neighbourhood of her dominions by fire and sword.†

"The historians Tacitus and Dio usher in their accounts of this insurrection with the relation of prodigies which occurred at Camelodunum precursive of the event, as if it were a matter of too fearful importance to be passed over in an ordinary way. Thus we hear of howlings and lamentations in the empty theatre, of phantom coursers, and the appearance of a destroyed colony in the neighbouring æstuary.‡ Shakespeare has finely amplified on similar circumstances in his 'Julius Cæsar':

" "A lioness hath whelped in the streets,
And graves have yawn'd and yielded up their dead!
Fierce fiery warriors fight upon the clouds,
In ranks and squadrons, and right form of war,
Which drizzled blood upon the capitol!"

"In this revolt, which was at length subdued by the generalship of Suetonius Paulinus, Camelodunum, Verulam, and London were sacked, and above seventy thousand Romans or their allies put to death with all the cruelty of studied tortures. Such of the affrighted Romans as were able to remove would naturally seek refuge on the opposite shores of the river, into which much of their treasure and household goods was probably thrown; accordingly, the bottom of the Thames in the late excavations has afforded images of household gods, silver keys, coins of Nero and a closely particular observation of the greater part of the relics and coins discovered§ would, I think, be found further to confirm this suggestion. This great

* "Dion. Cassius, by Xiphilin."

† "Jam primum uxor Boadicea verberibus affecta et filiae stupro violatæ sunt.—Tacit Annal., lib. xiv., cap. 31."

‡ "I think I am justified in understanding that the Camelodunum mentioned by Dio and Tacitus must have been some place in the immediate neighbourhood of an arm of the sea, and not very remote from the Straits of Calais. I apprehend it is rightly placed, by Camden and others, in Essex. Let anyone examine the 9th Iter of Antoninus, from Venta Icenorum, the capital of the Iceni, to London, and he will see that Camelodunum would by that route be in the line of march of Bonduca from her capital on London. Notwithstanding the obvious pretensions of Maldon drawn from the affinity of its name, I should be inclined to agree with those who fix it at Colchester, where such numerous vestiges of Roman antiquity exist. There was certainly, I believe, another Camelodunum in the West, which may have increased the perplexity of antiquaries on this contested point."

§ "I have in my possession one of Nero, 3rd brass, found in the new bridge works; obverse, Nero reverse, the temple of Janus: a square building, one side seen in perspective, in which is a gate closed. Legend, JANVM CLVSIT PACE P: R: (i.e. Populo Romano) VBIQ. PARTA.—S. C. I have also a silver key, found deep in the bed of the river at the same place, which has been already engraved in your vol. xcvi. i., p. 17."

calamity of the Roman colonists may serve also to explain the marks of a dense population in the Roman times, which have been found in the borough of Southwark;* to such an extent indeed as to induce some antiquaries to transfer ancient Londinium to that side of the water. This I cannot think they are justified in doing; but I have little doubt that on the utter devastation of the open town Londinium by Boadicea, the mass of the Roman population removed to the Southwark side, and that for a long period this suburb existed in comparative superior importance by the ruin of its opposite neighbour. In the name Southwark—i.e., south work—I may also incidentally mention that I think we have recorded the embankment which was necessarily raised on this spot by the Romans, to keep out the waters of the Thames." The ancient key referred to in the footnote, as figured in 1828, i., p. 17, is thus described: "The accompanying sketch (fig. 3) is a representation of a small silver key in my possession, drawn to the size of the original. It was found by the workmen employed on the works of the new London Bridge, about 10 feet below the present bed of the river, and was so completely discoloured and corroded by long exposure to the action of the water, as to render it very doubtful of what metal it might be composed. By scraping and subjecting it to a chemical test, it proved to be decidedly silver. This key has no pipe; the serrated form of the wards give it a Roman character, and I am rather disposed to consider it as of the manufacture of that people. The two broader faces of the square portion of the handle are ornamented by single lines in the form of what is styled a St. Andrew's cross; the two narrower faces by reticulated lines. These circumstances are, I conceive, merely ornamental.

"Your readers will justly class this little relic among the *nugæ antiquæ*; but, as connected with the domestic history of the British metropolis, whether this household instrument be referable to the Roman, Saxon, or a later age, the record of it cannot be altogether uninteresting."

41 (page 484). This communication will be found printed *ante*, page 206 (Part I.).

42 (page 487). The rendering of this passage in the translation by Thorpe is different, and as it has some reference to the point raised in the text, it is important to bear it in mind. It is as follows: "Many ships also which with their work belonged to London suffered great detriment by reason of the wall which they wrought about the Tower; and of the bridge, which was almost dispersed by the flood; and of the King's Hall work, which was being wrought at Westminster, and many men thereby injured." Mr. Thorpe says, "This passage, so far as the word 'injured,' is not very intelligible, though I believe it to be nearer to the true meaning of the original than what is given in former editions."

43 (page 488). This passage, as translated by Thorpe, is as follows: "In this year came Olaf with ninety-three ships to Staines, and harried without it."

44 (page 492). This charter is given by Kemble in his *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. MXIV., and by Birch in his *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 263, and the reading is as follows: "Ego Offa rex concedo ecclesie Christi Cantuarie terram juris mei quindecim ararorum in provincia Cancie in hiis post nominatis locis, id est, Jocham, Perhamstede, Rocinga, et in saltu qui diutur Andred ad pascua porcorum in hiis locis Dinuualingden, Sandhyrste, Suithelmingden, et in silvis quæ dicuntur Bochoht et Bleanheanhric et aliud inter terrentem nomine Northburnan et Hagenatreou et pastum unius gregis juxta theningden et L porcorum binnan snæde."

45 (page 496). The site of Anderida has been much discussed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. I have not thought it worth while to reprint the following articles: 1843, part i., pp. 369-370, by A. J. K.; 1843, part i., pp. 481-482, by J. P.; 1845, part i., p. 45, by J. P.; 1845, part i., pp. 268-269, by H. J.; 1847,

* "In the late excavations for the Southwark approaches of the new bridge, one of the labourers told me they found Roman coins much more plentiful than on the London side; to use his own expression, 'as thick as hops.'"

part ii., p. 481. These do not contain any discoveries or notes of value, and are simply continuations of discussions.

46 (page 502). This refers to an anonymous letter which only incidentally takes up the subject of the embankment of the Thames, and quotes a passage from Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, p. 316, which bears upon the subject. The editor endorses the request that Mr. Whitaker should write on the subject—1787, part i., p. 487. [See Note 40.]

47 (page 504). All that I can find in Wren's *Parentalia* bearing upon the embankment of the Thames is in the section relating to "London in ancient times, and the boundary of the Roman colony," where it is stated, p. 265, "The colony was wall'd next the Thames, and had a gate then called Dowgate, but anciently Dour-gate, which signified the Water Gate."

48 (page 520). This is an article entitled "Druidical Antiquities of Kent," 1844, part i., pp. 377-380, but it does not contain any points worth reprinting here.

49 (page 526). This is an article on Cæsar's passage of the Thames, 1844, part i., pp. 601-602, in which "Plantagenet" suggests certain local inquiries with reference to Cæsar's account of his British expedition. This is in June, 1844, not July, as stated in the text.

ROMAN REMAINS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

A comparison of the finds recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* with a complete county list will illustrate the degree of importance to be attached to the former. Mr. Witt's *Archæological Handbook of Gloucestershire* affords a ready means of applying the test :

Remains recorded in Witt's <i>Handbook of Gloucestershire.</i>	Remains recorded in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , ante, pp. 81-107.
Bibury Villa	
Bisley Villa	
Bourton Villa	
Brown's Hill Villa	
Chedworth Villa	Chedworth
Cherington Villa	
Combend Villa	
Cromhall Villa	
Corinium	Cirencester, Oakley
Dryhill Villa	
Daglingworth Villa	
Dodington Villa	
Glevum	Gloucester, Kingsholm, Wotton
Haresfield Villa	Horsefield
Kingscote Villa	
Lydney Villa	
Painswick Villa	
Rodmorton Villa	
Stinchcombe Villa	
Swell Villa	
Wadfield Villa	
Witcomb Villa	
Withington Villa	Withington
Woodchester Villa	
Wycomb	Wycomb
Spoonly Villa	
Upper Slaughter Camp	Upper Slaughter

ROMAN PAVEMENTS.

A comparison of the pavements recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* with those dealt with by Mr. Morgan in his *Romano-British Mosaics* shows the following results:

Pavements described in Morgan's <i>Romano- British Mosaics</i> .	Pavements described in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> .	Pavements described in Morgan's <i>Romano- British Mosaics</i> .	Pavements described in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> .
Abbot's Ann, Hants	—	Lincoln	Lincoln
Aldborough, Yorks	Aldborough	—	Litlington
Barton Farm, Glouc.	Barton	—	Littleton
Barton Field, Dorset	—	Littlecote, Wilts	—
Basildon, Berks	—	London	London
Bath	Bath	—	Louth
—	Bewcastle	Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts	Mansfield
Bibury	—	—	—
Bignor, Sussex	Bignor	—	Medbourn
Borough Hill, Northants	—	—	Meux
—	Box	Mill Hill, Northants	—
—	Boro'bridge	Morton, I. of W.	—
Bramdean, Hants	Bramdean	Mount near Maidstone	—
—	Bridlington	Nether Heyford, Northants	—
Bromham, Wilts	Bromham	Newton St. Loe, Som.	—
—	Caerleon	North Leigh, Oxford	—
Caerwent, Monmouth	—	—	Oakley
Canterbury, Kent	Canterbury	Pitmead, Wilts	—
Carisbrooke, I. of W.	Carisbrooke	Pitney, Somerset	Pitney
Castor, Northants	Castor	Preston, Dorset	—
Chedworth, Glouc.	Chedworth	—	Rivenhall
Cirencester, Glouc.	Cirencester	Roxby, Linc.	—
Colchester, Essex	Colchester	Rudge, Wilts	Rudge
Comb End, Glouc.	—	Scampton, Linc.	—
Cotterstock, Northants	Cotterstock	Silchester	Silchester
Crondall, Hants	Crondall	—	Slack
Denton, Lincoln	—	—	Soddington
Dorchester, Dorset	Dorchester	Southwark	Southwark
Droitwich, Worcester	—	Stanway, Essex	—
—	Duncton	—	Stainby
East Coket, Somerset	East Cocket	—	Stamford
—	Exeter	Storton, Linc.	—
—	Farley Castle	Stunsfield, Oxon	Stonesfield
Fifehead Neville, Dorset	—	Thrupton, Hants	Thrupton
—	Fishbourne	Uffington, Berks	—
Frampton, Dorset	—	—	Warminster
Froxfield, Wilts	—	Walton Heath, Surrey	—
Gloucester	Gloucester	Warplesdon, Surrey	—
Gurnard's Bay, I. of W.	—	Wellow, Somerset	Wellow
—	Haceby	West Dean, Wilts	—
—	Halstok	—	Whatley
Horkstow, Lincoln	—	—	Whitchurch
Harpole, Northants	—	—	Whiton
—	High Wycombe	—	—
Hurcote, near Somerton, Somerset	—	Winterton, Linc.	—
—	—	Wingham, Kent	—
Itchen Abbas, Hants	—	Withington, Glouc.	Withington
Laceby, Linc.	—	Woodchester, Glouc.	—
Lancing	Lancing	Wroxeter, Salop	Wroxeter
—	Langford (Lower)	—	Wymondham
Lee, Shrops.	—	Yatton, Somerset	—
Leicester	Leicester	—	York

ADDENDA.

BATH.

[1804, *Part II.*, p. 1006.]

Figs 4, 5, were stones found in the Borough walls at Bath, May, 1803, since Mr. Lysons' publication of the other antiquities.

[1829, *Part I.*, p. 31.]

"Your inquiries give an importance to an inscription found here in 1809 (the last, except one, that this famous station has produced), which it did not before, at least in my estimation, possess. And, as it may possibly combine with other facts, or other opinions, in the mind of the writer of 'Hermes,' and at all events as it is desirable on every account that it should be in your possession, I shall take the liberty to offer a copy of it from the stone itself in the crypt of our Institution :

D	M
MERG	MAGNII
ALVMNA	VIXIT AN I
M VI	D XII

"The inscription is perfect, the blanks being left in the original.

"It was found near the North Gate. The character resembles that of the inscription by Tiberinus engraved in Lysons. [Huebner, p. 28.] W. L. BOWLES."

CAERLEON.

[1800, *Part II.*, p. 1095.]

Oct. 11.—A few days ago, as some workmen were digging for a foundation at the north-west corner of Caerleon churchyard, they dug up several large cubic altar stones, with inscriptions on two sides of them. Upon one of the stones is this inscription: D.D. VIII KAL OCT, on one side, N.N. AUG GENIO LEG. II. AUG on the other side. Two other large stones have long inscriptions, in great part legible, which it is needless to give because imperfect. [Huebner, p. 39.]

CORBRIDGE.

[1735, p. 216.]

There was found lately at the side of a little brook near the Roman wall in Northumberland, by a smith's daughter of Corbridge, an ancient piece of silver, thus described to the Royal Society. Its shape like a tea-board, 20 inches long, and 15 broad, hollowed about an inch deep, with a flat brim an inch and a quarter broad, neatly flowered with a vine full of grapes, etc. On the right hand is the figure of Apollo, with the bow in his left hand, and a physical herb in his right, under a canopy supported by two Corinthian pillars; near his left leg is a lyre, under it an heliotrope, and at his feet a python; near the right hand pillar is another of a different form, with a sun for its capital; against this sits a priestess on a tripod, who looks over her shoulder at Apollo; under her feet is an altar, near which lies a stag, on his back. The next figure to the priestess is another female, her head unveiled, with a spear or wand in her left hand, on the top of which is a ball, and near her is a Minerva, with a helmet on her head, a spear in her left hand, pointing with her right to a man (supposed an hunter) on the other side of a large tree; on Minerva's breast is a Medusa's head, under her feet an altar, and near it a wolf looking up to the man, who has a bow in his left and an arrow in his right hand; below him at one corner of the plate is a rock with an urn on the midst of it, from which flows a stream: the figures are raised, large, and well proportioned, and cast work, without the least sign of a graver on it: there are a few scratches of a punch or chisel on the back of it; the three first are I. P. X. but the rest very unintelligible: it had under the middle of it a low frame, about 7 inches long, 4 broad, and one and a half deep, but this was broken off by the smith, though once all of a piece. It weighed about 148 ounces, and was bought by Mr. Cookson, a goldsmith of Newcastle, who values it at a high rate.

LEICESTER.

[1861, *Part II.*, p. 141.]

An important discovery has very recently been made, in the course of the works now being carried on at this spot. The workmen employed in excavating the earth on the north side of the church discovered on the site of the transeptal portion of the structure a stone wall running a few feet below and in a line with the palisading. On the top of the wall were still standing the bases of two massive Doric columns, a foot and a half each in diameter. At right angles with this wall, in the unexcavated portion of the earth, was seen a line or streak of mortar and broken floor-tiles—the remains of a pavement—indicating that the interior of the original edifice was on the site of the present interior of St. Martin's Church. The earth contains many fragments of Roman pottery, such as the necks of bottles of white ware, with portions of flange tiles; and the traces of Roman remains generally are unequivocal and abundant. The flange tiles corroborate the fact, which the traces of the pavement indicate, of the interior of the Roman edifice having been where the present interior is; for such tiles were used for roofing, and they probably have remained where they fell on the destruction of the building which they once covered. The two fragments of columns, standing on a strong stone wall, and the discovery of bones on all sides within the interior, point to the existence of a temple on the spot where now stands a Christian church. The two bases of columns evidently formed portions of a colonnade; and from their size and the space intervening between them, it may be presumed to have been a long colonnade. In all probability this was continued round three sides of the building, and the area of the interior would thus be as spacious, or more so, than that of any public building now standing in Leicester; thus giving the idea of a stately and extensive edifice having sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago occupied the site of St. Martin's Church.

LINCOLN.

[1800, *Part I.*, p. 513.]

Fig. 3 is part of a Roman patera, found in September, 1791, in taking up the foundations of the Roman wall, near the Were-dykes, at Lincoln. D. II.

LONDON.

[1785, *Part II.*, pp. 845, 846.]

In digging for the new sewer, now making to carry off the water, which, on a sudden fall of rain or snow used to stagnate before the Mansion House, the workmen found, at the end of Lombard Street, at the depth of 10 or 15 feet, several considerable masses of coarse tessellated pavement, made of large pieces of red brick, of irregular figure, from 1 to 2 inches square, bedded in coarse mortar, nearly opposite to the church of St. Mary Woolnoth. They also found a small brass seal, with a heater shield, so corroded that no arms could be distinguished on it, and round it SIGILLVM . . . ICI. Proceeding further, almost opposite the post-office, they came to two flues, as of chimneys, one semi-circular, the other half square, each about a foot diameter, and about that distance asunder in the north wall of a building, and reaching from the ground nearly to the surface of the street; also a circular brick, of about 9 or 10 inches in diameter, broken in half, and having a hole in the centre, terminated in a kind of boss on the under side, which, as well as the upper, had been bedded in mortar. Question, Was this the first brick of a pillar of hypocaust? They also took up a Nuremberg token or two. Continuing their researches to the present time, they have found more of the tessellated pavement.

[1833, *Part II.*, p. 452.]

A very perfect small Roman lachrymatory of glass was found a few days since in digging the foundations for the new warehouses of Messrs. Bradley, porcelain manufacturers to his Majesty, in Pall Mall. This little relic is precisely similar to that which has been engraved in vol. ciii., i., p. 401, of our miscellany, and is

referred to in Mr. Taylor's accompanying communication relative to Roman antiquities, found in May last near York Street, Southwark, as No. 4 of the articles represented on the plate. Stukeley intimates in his "Itinerary," Iter v., p. 118, vol. i., that the Watling Street way passed through the Roman City at Verulam, a little south of St. Michael's Church, thence to Brockley Hill, Edgware, and Paddington. A continuation of this way, according to Higden, without regarding London, ran to the westward of the palace at Westminster, over the Thames; it came through Hyde Park, Mayfair, and St. James's Park; and the ferry or *trajectus* was over the Thames to the opposite shore at Stangate. Some confirmation of this route may be derived from the presence of Roman remains in Pall Mall. In the hole with the Roman lachrymatory were several fragments of the bearded bottles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These relics had been mingled together, we suppose, when the foundations of the older houses had been laid in Pall Mall, we think about the time of Charles II. or his successor James.

MANCHESTER.

[1807, *Part II.*, p. 1009.]

Fig. 3 (from the MSS. of the late Dr. Pegge, to whom it was communicated by the Rev. J. Watson, rector of Stockport) was found in or near the Station at Manchester.

[1832, *Part II.*, p. 359.]

In May last, whilst the workmen of R. H. Bradshaw, Esq., were digging for soil in Castle-field, Manchester, they discovered a votive altar. It is of red sandstone, and measures from the bottom of the base to the top of the capital, two feet four inches; the base is one foot eleven inches from side to side, and one foot two inches from front to back; a portion of the inscription is broken off, but the remainder is as follows: [Huebner, p. 57]

OSL
EXIL
AETOR ET
NORICOR
V.S.L.L.M.

MARKET OVERTON.

[1863, *Part II.*, p. 142.]

Some excavations have been recently made in the parishes of Market Overton and Thistleton, by Mr. Christopher Bennett, of the former place, who has succeeded in finding many interesting remains of Roman art, consisting of coins, a balance, bronze pins, bone pins, bone bodkins, fragments of Samian ware in relief, vases, amphoræ, urns, fibulæ, celts, the upper and lower jaws of a wild boar, etc. Fragments of Roman pottery are found over a space of 200 acres, the ploughshare very frequently exposing this early fictile ware to view. That this is a site of a Roman settlement is beyond a doubt, and the question will again arise whether it was not the *Margedunum* of Antoninus; the character of the soil, the situation, and the distance from other stations favour such an hypothesis. Gale and Stukeley fix *Margedunum* at Willoughby, Notts, Horseley at East Bridgeford, Notts, and Camden at Belvoir. The last named, however, had previously fixed it in the parish of Market Overton, but why he changed his opinion is not stated.

PLAXTOL, KENT.

[1857, *Part II.*, p. 201.]

Some rather remarkable objects have been recently turned up by the plough in a field at Plaxtol, the property of Mr. Martin. They chiefly consist in the foundations of a building which seems to be of the better class of Roman dwelling-houses, if we may judge from the flue and hypocaust tiles, which are of a superior

description. Some of these tiles are covered with an inscription which seems to resolve itself into some such form as CARABANTIVS, or CABRIABANTI; but having seen only a few fragments we cannot, at present, with certainty determine the correct reading: neither is it easy to say if the word be merely the name of the maker, or of a more extended signification. The importance of inscriptions upon Roman tiles is well known to the antiquary. The location of legions and cohorts is often recorded by them; and to go no further than the county of Kent (remarkably barren in Roman inscriptions), the tiles discovered at Lympe are among the most valuable results of the excavations made at that station by Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Elliott; for they enabled the former of these investigators to detect the evidences of the particular body of troops stationed at the *Fortus Lemanis* (see his "Report on the Excavations," and the "Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lympe"). We shall, therefore, look forward to a complete excavation of the spot on which these remains are found, and which, we understand, Mr. Martin is quite willing to permit. A statuette of Pallas, of good workmanship, has also been dug up.

About half a mile distant, in a field belonging to Mr. Thompson, Roman sepulchral remains have lately been exhumed. Mr. Thompson has very kindly permitted Major Luard to excavate the field; and Mr. Golding has liberally allowed the urns, and various other objects already found, to be deposited at the Mote-house, at Ightham.

ST. HILARY, CORNWALL.

[1853, *Part II.*, p. 546.]

In clearing the walls of the old church at St. Hilary, in Cornwall, there were found two inscribed stones, which now lie in the churchyard. One was found lying transversely under the north chancel wall, where it had evidently been placed with care when the church was built. It is about 7 feet long, and nearly 2 feet wide at its widest part; its shape being, rudely and perhaps undesignedly, much like that of a coffin. The inscription consists of two lines; at the beginning of each are some curious but indescribable figures, in one of which, however, may be traced a rough resemblance, in outline, to an anvil. The letters (?) of each line are, apparently, as far as they can be traced, NOTI, in Roman characters. The other stone was found under another part of the chancel, and is of about the same dimensions. It appears to present the following letters:

EL . . I . . V . .
 CONSTA
 PI . . A
 CAES
 DIK
 . . ONSTAN
 PII
 . . AVS
 FILIO

This inscription is apparently of the Roman epoch. [It is not noticed by Huebner, and is certainly incorrectly transcribed. It may be a forgery.]

WORCESTER.

[1834, *Part I.*, p. 96.]

The workmen lately employed in levelling the west side of the Castle Hill, near Worcester, found, about 18 feet below the surface, a Roman jug, or water-vessel, capable of containing between two and three quarts; it has a handle, is made of red earth, and is in the finest state of preservation. In levelling other parts of the hill, coins of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Vespasian, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, Gordian, etc., have been found at a considerable depth; about the same level were discovered a well, curiously quoined with stone, and remains of buildings, which plainly show that the spot was occupied before its artificial elevation for the purpose of forming the donjon keep of Worcester Castle during the Middle Ages.

WELLOW.

[1846, *Part II.*, p. 633.]

Some further Roman remains have been found in the parish of Wellow, co. Somerset. The labourers digging in a field came upon what appeared to be the remains of a Roman wall. The supposition was strengthened by the discovery, amongst the stones, of a silver coin of Augustus Caesar, in an excellent state of preservation. The situation of the field is about half a mile from the well-known Roman pavement, which has long been an object of curiosity in the parish. There is every reason to believe that the wall above mentioned forms part of the remains of a Roman villa, as adjoining it have been found pavements indicative of the vicinity of a building of that description.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

[1764, p. 248.]

Several Roman urns, with silver and copper coins, have lately been found in the Isle of Wight, but of what reigns is not mentioned.

CEFN-Y-CASTELL, THE SITE OF THE LAST BATTLE OF CARACTACUS.

[1853, *Part I.*, pp. 274, 275.]

To the recent meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held at Ludlow, I contributed a paper offering suggestions as to the probability of Cefn-y-Castell, on the confines of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire, being the position occupied by Caractacus, and forced by Ostorius, in the last conflict between the Britons and the Romans, but which was not read in consequence of the late period of the evening. I am therefore disposed to solicit the indulgence of your pages for a brief notice of this site, as it seems to coincide more exactly with the description as given by Tacitus than most of the other localities to which the attention of the antiquary has been directed.

Cefn-y-Castell forms the middle portion of the Breidden group of mountains, a magnificent range, chiefly situated in that part of the parish of Alverbury which lies in Montgomeryshire, but stretches along the immediate confines of the county of Salop. Their early history, with the incidents of the feudal lords of their demesnes and the principal proprietors of the lands, is closely connected with the county of Salop, and of which those lands formed a portion when Domesday was compiled. These wild and commanding mountains commence with that of the Bausley on the eastern side, and are separated from the Bulthy (or Bwlthau) by a narrow and confined dell, stretching its line on the west until it reaches the precipitous Breidden, provincially called "Brythen," and written by the British "Craigau Wridden." This eminence, it may be further stated, extends its long craggy range southward to a small vale, which separates it from the lofty Moel-y-golfa, and this again further, in the same direction, towards the Long Mountain, bordering the turnpike road to Welshpool. The Bulthy also carries its line south until it reaches that of Cefn-y-Castell, now known as Middletown Hill, from whence it gradually declines towards the south, and ends in the vale which divides it from Moel-y-golfa or Moel-y-golphon, "the Hill of the Winds."

These bold and romantic regions—central in the country of the Ordovices, and replete with dangerous and inaccessible approaches, probably so filled the mind and captivated the heart of the heroic prince Caractacus as to determine him to raise his standard of liberty and independence on their confines, and finally to fix his camp on the northern point of Cefn-y-Castell, a towering eminence, advantageous in every respect to assist the grand design of this great general.

His lines of circumvallation, one above the other, for the army of reserve, are on the southern line of the Breidden; his outposts at the north-east point of the Bausley, on the northern side of the Breidden, and on its lower continuation. Also the circular outwork upon the small eminence called "Byrn Mawr," nearly two miles from the Breidden, and about half a mile to the south, on the opposite side of the river Virniew, to the Roman Camp at Clawdd Coch, in the plains to the

west of Llanymynech, and another of a similar kind in the parish of Llansaintfraid, about the like distance, and on the same side of the Virniew, strikingly show the great skill and comprehensive genius evinced by Caractacus in selecting the place now suggested as the site where to assemble and concentrate his followers in battle array for the defence and support of his countrymen against the arbitrary power of the Roman Emperor Claudius Cæsar. In this situation he probably for some time greatly annoyed the Romans in their camp at Clawdd Coch, until the legions and armies of auxiliaries were collected in sufficient force to encounter and annihilate the host of the British army.

The outpost of Caractacus may be considered as formed at the lower extremity of the Bausley, where two roads cross each other, the one from Alberbury and the Old Ford, or Weir, to Welshpool, and the other from Westbury to Llandrino. From hence, after passing by the Bulthy, the ascent commences to the summit of Cefn-y-Castell in a winding position along a narrow path.

The interior of the fortress or camp appears as having been formed and defended with ramparts of stone on the east and west points; at the latter was the broad, or principal entrance, and two deep entrenchments surround each of the other extremities, which gives it altogether an elliptical form. Near to the eastern point is a cairn covered and heaped with small broken stones.

This British camp, including the entrenchments, encompasses about three acres of land; and from the interior, which commands in prospect the whole of the north and western portions of Shropshire, the British king could overlook in the distance of a mile or two his smaller outpost, or encampment, at the eastern or lower extremity of the Bausley, probably the spot where, as according to Tacitus, a troop of his (Caractacus's) "better men had been stationed for defence," the outwork being formed and entrenched agreeably to the shape of the ground. At this point also the British chieftain could overlook a rapid and uncertain ford, at the present day more generally known as the "Old Weir," across the river Severn (Sabrina) at a curve in the stream, about a mile below the village of Alberbury, through which it may be presumed that Ostorius with the Roman army, British auxiliaries, and a strong body of colonists sent from their station at Camalodunum (Camerton, co. Gloucester) crossed in their march from their encampment in the plains of Llanymynech, called Clawdd Coch (said to be one of the Mediolanum, by Sir R. Colt Hoare, who visited it in person), over a continued flat district of the vicinity now forming the limits of the parishes of Kinnerley and Melverley, to the "vadum incertum" of Tacitus.

The river being passed without difficulty and the outposts at the Bausley taken, the soldiers might then advance to the agger at the foot of Cefn-y-Castell, and, having gained the summit of that eminence, forced down the ramparts of stones in the manner described by Tacitus in the 12th book of his Annals, whereby the Britons were compelled to retreat to the heights of the hills adjacent to the camp.

Upon the western declivity of the site now briefly reviewed may be traced several circular tumuli, no doubt the last resting-places of the unknown warriors who fell in the fatal battle of Cefn-y-Castell.

Yours, etc. HENRY PIDGEON.

ROMAN ALTARS.

[1852, *Part I.*, pp. 269-272.]

Of all the Roman altars that have at sundry times been brought to light in Britain, there is none that has excited more attention, at home or abroad, than the altar dedicated to the goddess of the Brigantes, found at Greteland in this neighbourhood in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I have already * stated some singular

* Magazine for January, 1852, p. 57. [An article on "Roman Inscriptions in Britain."]

circumstances relating to this altar, and there are others of a highly interesting nature which remain to be told. Besides, there are many reasons which make it desirable that every doubt respecting the finding of this altar should be cleared up. It has been stated that in those parts of the continent of Europe formerly occupied by the Brigantes, there has been no altar or inscription found dedicated to this goddess; which, if it is the case, only shows how great was the respect paid by the Romans to the British Brigantia. Another point of view that renders this altar so much a matter of interest to the local antiquary in this district, is its importance in reference to the Roman topography of this district; for, if Camden (as has been insinuated) has been misled in his account, we must either abandon the claim of Greteland altogether, or else look for evidence from another quarter.

Shall I confess to you, Mr. Urban, that I feel some personal interest on the subject, inasmuch as the place where Camden saw this altar was but a short distance from my own neighbourhood? It is the more gratifying to me, therefore, to find such ample justice done to the accuracy of the great Father of English antiquaries, by the contents of the interesting voucher which we owe to the Rev. Joseph Hunter. That voucher might have remained another century, as effectually buried within the learned walls of the Bodleian Library, as was the altar itself within the precincts of the Roman station at Greteland, had not some genius of Eald, such as the distinguished antiquary I have just named, evoked from its hiding-place this interesting document. That document has fully confirmed the accuracy of Camden's account of the discovery of this altar. It tells us, too, that two years after its discovery Camden paid a visit to the Saviles at Bradley Hall, in the August of 1599. But I will no longer withhold from your readers the document itself, extracting from the published account of the learned discoverer some of his preliminary remarks to the following effect:

"Amongst those which are called 'Dodsworth's Manuscripts' in the Bodleian Library, is a volume which is only called his as having been in his possession, and as having come with his own great collection into the possession of the family of Fairfax, from whom they passed to the Bodleian. This volume, which is numbered LVIII., contains a multitude of notes relating to the affairs of the manor of Wakefield, and especially relating to those portions of the parish of Halifax which are within that manor. The collector of these notes was an officer of the manor under the Saviles, John Hanson of Woodhouse in Elland, a person known to Dodsworth, who speaks of him as one who was studious in antiquities. In blank places of this volume he has entered a few memoranda of occurrences in his neighbourhood, and among these is the following particular and important notice of the discovery of the Greteland altar:

"Memorandum, that in the latter end of the month of April, an. dom. 1597, anno Elizabethæ Reginae 39, one Thomas Miles, a labouring man, and John Hallywell, digging upon a lawe of stones at the back of the house of Jeffery Ramsden at the Thick Hollins, did light upon a stone squared, in length about a yard, having Roman characters on two sides engraven, and being plain of the other two sides, having partizans or crests at the top and at the bottom, with some other flourishes: which stone had four holes in the top, whereunto it should seem some other thing had been fastened, and the foot thereof had stood upon a square stone wrought with partizans, etc. The characters contained five lines on one side, and but two of the other, and were very difficult to read. There was also found in the said lawes, and in other places thereabouts, divers foundations of houses, and some Roman coins, and squared stones and thick stones with iron nails, in the earth in divers places of the ground called Thickhollins, lying upon the height near the Clayhouse, near unto the Linwell."

He then gives a drawing of the altar, with a copy of the inscription as it was then read, which completely identifies it with the altar of which Camden gives an account.

So much for the altar found at Greteland. There is yet another scarcely less singular remain, which attracted the notice of Camden during his visit to this

neighbourhood. It was a Roman hypocaust found in Grimscar wood, as well as tiles, bearing the same inscription * as some I have at various times found at the Eald-Fields, considered by Watson to be the site of the ancient Cambodunum. We are now therefore sufficiently enlightened on this subject. The light that has beamed from the shelves of the Bodleian has for ever chased away those clouds of uncertainty respecting the accuracy of Camden which some succeeding antiquaries had raised, and we are now fully assured that within the space of three miles there existed two Roman stations. Nor is there anything so singular in this, the same circumstance occurring in other Roman stations. So many Roman coins indeed found in different parts of this neighbourhood sufficiently testify the lengthened domicile of that people, and it is more than probable that Greteland was not the only station the Romans had in addition to the Eald-Fields. Deferring, however, the consideration of this, as well as some other similar points of a mere local nature, to a future opportunity, I must once more recall the attention of your readers to Hanson's memoranda, which, at the same time that they give a circumstantial account of the finding of the altar, communicate to us another interesting piece of information, the visit of the illustrious Camden to Sir John Savile of Bradley Hall, in this neighbourhood, in the August of 1599, two years after the discovery of the altar. This Sir John Savile was steward of the honour of Wakefield, and was made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in 1598. It was in the reign of Elizabeth that the branch of the Saviles at Bradley Hall was in the zenith of its glory, for in that reign three brothers of that family resided there in early life, of whom Sir John was the eldest. In that learned age, which has sometimes been styled the golden age of English literature, the three brothers were all distinguished for their great learning, and all inclined to antiquarian pursuits. Betwixt these brothers and Camden a close friendship existed, and with Thomas, the youngest, a frequent epistolary intercourse was maintained; for, in the "*Epistolæ variae ad illustres viros*,"† written by Thomas, there are fifteen addressed to Camden. This may probably have been the reason why Camden, in his preliminary discourse to the *Brigantes*, calls this Thomas his learned friend. In Camden's time the study of Roman topography was at a low ebb; how welcome therefore to him must have been the suggestions of such accomplished scholars and antiquaries as the Saviles. Indeed, he expresses his obligation to Sir John Savile for his many kindnesses, and for the benefit which his great work had derived from his great learning. But Camden was no closet antiquary, gleaning from the stores of others. He was anxious himself to investigate personally what he undertook to describe, and spent many years in exploring different parts of the kingdom in quest of materials for that great work which was to be the foundation of his future fame. We can easily therefore understand the motives that led him to visit Bradley Hall.‡ Though centuries have rolled over this venerable spot since it

* COH. III. BRE. The same pen that described the altar writes as follows respecting the hypocaust: "5th Augusti, 1599, eruditus ille antiquarius, G. Camdenus, cum hospitavit apud domum Jo. Savile Baronis Scaccarii apud Bradley, enarravit mihi, quod opus predictum fuit balneum, pro nobilibus Romanis, quibus multum utebantur, cum hanc insulam possidebant, quo die equitavi cum eo ad Bradford," etc., etc.

† They were published by Dr. Thomas Smith, of Magdalene College, Oxford, in a book entitled "*V. A. Gulielmi Camdeni, et illustrium virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolæ*." Some of these letters relate to Yorkshire, and to the identification of the Roman stations.

‡ The present owner of Bradley Hall is the Earl of Mexborough. It once was the seat of the Saviles, and in all probability was a spacious mansion; only a small part of it now remains, sufficient for a farmer; but the ground about it shows, by its inequality, and by a number of stones lodged near the surface, that it has been more extensive. Over the gate are the figures 1577, and the letters I. S., John

was adorned by the presence of some of the greatest ornaments of Elizabeth's reign, yet in the eye of the antiquary it is still an object of attraction, though little remains of the venerable pile which was standing in the time of Camden. Were it not an encroachment on your pages to dwell any longer on this part of the subject, much might be said on the events connected with this altar in after-years; but for a fuller and more clear exposition of all the facts relating to its discovery, and how it came to pass that the accuracy and truth of a statement of a fact by Camden was called in question, I must refer to the admirable paper of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, printed in vol. xxxii. of the "*Archæologia*," pp. 16-24.

I have now submitted to the notice of your readers in the present paper instances of three Roman altars, all found in neighbouring Roman stations in this part of Yorkshire, and each of the three affording decisive indications of a permanent Roman station. Lighter relics, such as coins, urns, etc., are sometimes found in temporary camps, at some distance from the station-in-chief, but such fixed and heavy remains as altars and foundations of houses are usually confined to their principal stations.

It was the discovery of some sepulchral monuments and foundations of houses that demonstrated the site of the Roman town near Adell Mill, in Yorkshire, and in Thoresby's time the adjacent Roman camp was in a very perfect state. It seems to have been one of those unrecorded stations which were founded subsequently to the date of the last of the *Itinera*, the names of which have not been handed down to us.* From the fragments of statues, pillars, aqueducts, inscriptions, etc., it is evident too this must have been a station of considerable note. We are told that among other vestigia of Roman occupancy there was dug up a statue to the full proportion of a Roman officer, with a large inscription, both which were destroyed by the worse than brutish ignorance and covetousness of the labourers, who, in a superstitious conceit, bound wreaths of straw and twigs around the statue, and afterwards burnt it in hopes of finding some hidden treasure, and then, in anger at their disappointment, broke it to pieces. The monuments above alluded to were sepulchral, for in one of them were the letters H S E, for *hic situs est*, below "*pientiss.*" A portion of the stone having been broken off, the remainder of the inscription could not be ascertained. The other was almost entire, and was also a funeral monument, beginning with "*Diis manibus sacrum*," and concluding with "*Vixit annos xx.*" Whatever was the name of this Roman station, it seems, like that at the Eald-Fields in my own immediate neighbourhood, to have been destroyed by fire, for in both places the appearance of many of the stones is such as would be produced by intense heat. At what time or by whose hands these two stations perished, whether in some of the insurrections of the native Brigantes, or in after-times by the Saxons or the Danes, we have no evidence to show. But if the era of their destruction was synchronous with that of the Ilkley station, it was anterior to the time of the Emperor Severus; for the altar at Ilkley, to which I have already alluded, was erected for no other purpose than to record the *restoration* of that station by that Emperor. We have no mention of any such station in Antoninus's *Itinerary*. It first appears in Ptolemy. How many other towns or stations were added in the long period intervening between the date of the *itineraries* and the reign of Honorius, comprising a period of two centuries, we can only conjecture from what we are told by the earliest British writers, from whom we learn that the face of the country was studded with Roman towns and villas.

Savile; on the kitchen wall is 1598. The chapel, being rebuilt, serves the tenant for a barn; most of the tower also remains, and the whole has the appearance of a church to persons travelling between Ripponden and Eland.

* There have been various conjectures respecting this station. Thoresby himself, whose account I have adopted, considers it to have been called *Burghodunum*, because a place called *Burghedunum* is found in Domesday near Adell. We have notice in the Ravenna geographer of a station called *Pampo* or *Campocalla*, the next station to *Legcolium*. Where are we to place this station?

Even the devastations of successive conquerors, and the lapse of fourteen centuries, have not destroyed the remains of many of these structures, and, unless I am very much deceived, future discoveries will bring to light indisputable marks of Roman residence in many parts of this county, and even in that division of it where I now reside, which the antiquaries of our day little imagine. Stranded on a distant age, like fragments of a shipwreck thrown on shore after a devouring tempest, these relics of the once mistress of the world present themselves in situations often least suspected. To the classical student and the lover of the fine arts many of these remains are of the highest value. Fewer, indeed, and fast fading from among us as these memorials of the olden time will rapidly be in our day, from changes everywhere taking place around us, it becomes the more necessary to treasure up the hidden testimonials of Roman occupancy as often as they are brought to light from their long concealment. In that dark period of our history which succeeded the departure of the Romans we may derive great aid in local topography by attending to such discoveries. Different as the site of Saxon towns is from that of Roman in many instances, yet it has not without reason been maintained that most, if not all, the larger towns on the banks of rivers were originally the ground-plots of Roman stations. But we must no longer depend upon Roman itineraries, or even Roman roads, when we have to decide upon such stations as were established in the last ages of their dominion in Britain. If this circumstance had been always kept in view, many useless controversies might have been spared, and some erroneous conjectures avoided.

Yours, etc. J. K. WALKER, M.D., Cantab.

OMISSIONS.

The following communications have been omitted as not important enough to reprint :

- 1742, pp. 30-31. Explanation of a Roman altar, by J. Ward.
- 1746, pp. 357, 358. Dissertation on the Roman Wall.
- 1748, p. 266. Explanation of inscription, by Cornubiensis.
- 1752, p. 515. Explanation of inscription, by Paul Gemesage.
- 1759, p. 407. Remarks on a Roman inscription, by P. Gemesage.
- 1760, pp. 65-68. The Roman name of the river Trent.
- 1784, part i., pp. 85-86. "Illustrations of ancient pigs of lead."
- 1784, part i., pp. 403-404. Inscription at Wotton, Surrey; this is a forgery.
- 1786, part ii., p. 955. Disquisition on Roman pavements, by P. Britannicus.
- 1788, part ii., p. 1149. Roman inscription to Decius, by D. H.
- 1789, part i., pp. 222-223. Cæsar's second landing in Britain discussed.
- 1795, part ii., pp. 543-544. Queries relative to Roman stations in Britain, by T. R.
- 1795, part ii., pp. 819-820. The site of Camulodunum, by T. R.
- 1795, part ii., pp. 916-919. The site of Camulodunum, by Julius Frontinus.
- 1796, part ii., pp. 823-824. Roman roads elucidated.
- 1824, part i., p. 320. Explanation of inscription, by J. I.
- 1829, part i., pp. 31-32. On Roman inscription at Bath, by W. L. Bowles.
- 1829, part i., pp. 224-225. Ditto, by "Merlin."
- 1832, part ii., pp. 423-424. On Roman altar found at Manchester, by A. J. K.
- 1833, part i., p. 69. Note on inscription at Manchester.
- 1839, part ii., pp. 183-186. Catalogue of Roman altars in the museum of Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, by J. II.
- 1839, part ii., pp. 633-634. Roman inscription in Newcastle Museum.
- 1843, part i., pp. 35-36. Roman altar to Jupiter and Vulcan.
- 1843, part i., pp. 369, 370. On Anderida, by A. J. K.
- 1843, part i., pp. 481-482. On Anderida, by J. P.
- 1844, part i., pp. 600-601. Cæsar's passage of the Thames, by J. P. Cæsar's Landing in Britain, by Plantagenet.

- 1844, part ii., pp. 247-248. Twelfth Iter of Antoninus, by J. P.
1845, part i., p. 45. On Anderida, by J. P.
1845, part i., pp. 268-269. On Anderida, by H. J.
1847, part ii., p. 481. On Anderida.
1851, part ii., pp. 383-388, 503-507. Notes of a tour along the Roman Wall,
by C. Roach Smith.
1852, part i., pp. 54-58. On Roman inscriptions in Britain, by J. K. Walker.
1852, part i., pp. 268-272. Roman altars, by J. K. Walker.
1852, part i., pp. 481-482. Fresh observations on the Roman Wall, by Dr.
Collingwood Bruce.
1852, part i., pp. 579-581. On the mythology of Roman altars in Britain.
1861, part ii., pp. 69-70. Curator Agrorum, by George Pridaux.
1862, part i., pp. 398-405. On excavations at Wroxeter.
1862, part i., pp. 477-478. Cæsar's description of Britain, by "Scrutator."
1862, part ii., pp. 598-601. On excavations at Wroxeter.
1863, part i., pp. 302-307. On excavations at Wroxeter.





PLACE-NAME INDEX OF ROMAN REMAINS.

[This index is compiled on the plan accepted by the Index Society in 1879 for a general index to places where Roman remains have been found. If a combined effort were made to compile such an index from all the available published sources of information, our knowledge of Roman Britain would be considerably enhanced. The plan is to arrange the names of the objects in alphabetical order after the place-name, and then add the reference pages. This plan is found to be on the whole better than that of following each object-name by its reference; because the general use of such an index is first to ascertain what objects have been found at any given place, secondly, to know where the Roman conditions of the place are described. Only the records of actual discoveries are included in this index—not the *discussions* about roads and stations. These latter, of course, would have to be included in the complete index; but for this specimen it is thought best to leave out items which are matters of discussion.]

- | | |
|--|---|
| Adell Mill, buildings, inscriptions, etc., 600 | vessels, lamps, pottery, gold ring, urn, 66-67 |
| Aldbrough, coins, inscriptions, key, pavements, tumulus, urns, 358-362 | Barton-upon-Trent, pavements, 259, 260 |
| Aldburgh, pavement, 303 | Bath, baths, coins, inscriptions, temple, villas, 284-289, 350, 592 |
| Aldermaston Park, roadway, 444 | Baydon, coins, iron implements, etc., 346 |
| Allerton, camp, 368, 370 | Beaconsfield, bath, burial-ground, 261 |
| Alwalton, coins, earthworks, etc., 429 | Bedford, pottery, 3-4 |
| Amotherby, ashes, charcoal, coins, pavements, pottery, 362-363 | Belinerton Bury, camp, 498 |
| Andover, pottery, tiles, etc., 107 | Benwell, baths, 255 |
| Andoversford, <i>see</i> "Wycomb" | Bewcastle, remains of town, 20 |
| Ashby Puerorum, lacrymatory, stone chest, urn, 176 | Bigberry, agricultural implements, 141 |
| Aulcester, coins, urns, well, 342-344 | Bignor, bath, villa, 328-332 |
| Avisford, sepulchral remains, 328 | Billericay, pottery, 67 |
| Banstead, camp, 499 | Billingford, pottery, 436 |
| Barkisland, coins, 375 | Bishops Castle, lead inscription, 263-264 |
| Barnsby, skeletons, urns, 363 | Bishopstoke, leaden coffin, 107-109 |
| Barrow-upon-Soar, animal bones, iron relics, urn, 166 | Blandford, urn, weapons, etc., 46 |
| Bartlow Hills, burials, coins, glass | Black Notley, urns, 450 |
| | Blatchington, villa, 332, 333 |
| | Blotchingley, bath, 318 |
| | Blewberry, buildings, entrenchment, pottery, etc., 4-5 |

- Boarstall, pottery, 11
 Bocking, coins, 451
 Boroughbridge, pavement, 363
 Box, coin, pavements, pottery, 347-348
 Bradwell juxta mare, station, 67-71
 Braintree, coins, mound, road-bank, urns, 450-451
 Bramdean, buildings, coins, pavements, 109-111
 Bramsley, roadway, 444
 Bray, coins, roadway, weapons, 5-6
 Breightmet Hill, urns, 162
 Bridge Casterton, coins, 175
 Bridlington, ashes, pavement, 364
 Brighton Bridge, inscription, 414-415
 Brill, pottery, 11
 Brimpton Common, tumuli, 446
 Brixworth, church of Roman materials, 238
 Bromham, iron slags, pavement, 349, 350
 Broughton, pig of lead, 111-112
 Buckingham (near), villa, 7
 Burd Oswald, inscribed altars, 20-26
 Burgh, camp, pottery, 435
 Burgh Castle, remains of fortress, 303-304
 Burgh on Sands, inscription, 26
 Burghead, coin, well, 411-412
 Burnfoot, inscription, 413-414
 Burton, copper pan, hand-mills, iron spike, wall foundations, 343-345
 Butterworth, statue, 163

 Caerhun, bath, camp, coins, pottery, 403-404
 Caerleon, remains of city, inscriptions, 222-229, 592
 Caervorran, baths, 255
 Cambridge, armilla, inscribed stone, 13, 14
 Canterbury, buildings, coins, glass, interments, pavement, pottery, etc., 141-144
 Carisbrooke, villa, 128-131
 Carlisle, altar, baths, sculpture, vase, 27-28, 255
 Carrawbrough, baths, 255
 Carrvoran, altars, 22, 24
 Cast-Steeds, inscriptions, 384-385
 Castor (Norfolk), camp, coins, gates, urns, walls, 496-498
 Castor (Northants), buildings, coins, interments, pavements, pottery furnace, villa, 238-242, 245, 549
 Caswell Wood, camp, 230
 Chaddleworth, pavement, 6
 Chedworth, villa, 81-82

 Chelmsford, coins, pottery, etc., 71-72
 Chester, hypocaust, masonry, pottery, stylus, etc., 17-19
 Chesters, gateway, inscription, wall, 246
 Chesterford, villa, 72
 Chesterton, coins, earthworks, inscription, 242, 243, 429
 Chichester, aqueduct, camp, coins, inscribed stones, pottery, temple, 333-335, 340
 Chipping Hill, camp, coins, 453
 Chobham, coins, 442
 Cirencester, coins, inscriptions, pavement, skeletons, stone pillars, urns, 82-89, 389
 Clapton, stone coffin, 182-183
 Clayton, roadway, 436-437
 Cliffe, inscription, 364-365
 Clifton, inscribed stones, 32-33
 Cockfield, vestige of camp, 312
 Coddtenham, coins, copper box, metal mirrors, etc., 304
 Cogenhoe, camp, 244
 Coggeshall, coin, road-bank, urns, 449
 Colchester, bronze figure, cemetery, inscribed stone, pavements, sphinx, villa, urns, walls, 72-77, 387-388
 Comberton, villa, 14-15
 Comby, buildings, 131
 Coning-garth, sculpture, 32
 Corbridge, baths, silver ornament, 255, 592
 Cotterstock, pavement, 429
 Cottingham, roadway, 431
 Cowey Stakes, wooden piles, 319
 Creting, bronze statue of Nero, 305
 Crendon, cemetery, 9
 Crickhowre, inscription, 401-402
 Crondall, intrenchment, pavement, 443
 Croydon, road, 462
 Cuxton, pottery, 144

 Dalton Parlours, pavements, etc., villa, 419-420
 Deanhead, urns, 376
 Debtling, camp, 526
 Densworth, coin, inscription, stone-cist, urns, etc., 335-336
 Deptford, sculpture, 504
 Desborough, beads, interments, 237
 Dickleburgh, roadway, 436
 Ditchingham, coins, 497
 Doncaster, inscription, 365
 Dorchester, amphitheatre, burial-place, coins, pavement, pottery, urns, etc., 46-56
 Dorking, coins and other remains, 461

- Dover, glass vessels, gold fibula, pharos, etc., 144-145
 Drewton Manor, coins, roadway, urn, etc., 463-464
 Droitwich, medals, pins, pottery, villa, 356
 Duncton, bath, buildings, pavement, 336-338
 Dunwich, coins, 436

 East Cocket, pavement, 40
 Elchester, baths, inscription, 255, 301
 Egbury, camp, 447
 Elland, coins, 375
 Ellenborough, inscribed altar, etc., 27
 Elmham, aqueducts, pavements, 497
 Englefield Green, foundations, 441
 Exeter, bronze figure, coins, glass, pavement, pottery, tomb, urns, weapons, 41-44, 387, 578-579
 Ewell, coins, 461
 Eye, iron shears, tweezers, urns, etc., 307

 Farley, bath, pavement, villa, 350-351
 Farley Castle, villa, 289
 Farnham, camp, 440
 Fescote, villa, 8
 Fiskard, inscription, 407-408
 Fishbourne, coins, pavement, 334
 Folkesworth, pottery, iron implement, stone coffins, 138-140
 Fordington, *see* "Dorchester"
 Frimley, coins, urn, 443

 Gaer, inscription, 402-403
 Gainford, inscription, 365-366
 Gillingham, pottery, 161
 Glasgow, burial, 414
 Glenalmond, camp, horse-branks, etc., pottery, spear-heads, 415
 Gloucester, lamp, masonry, pavements, pottery, quay wall, street-lines, 89-92, 580
 Great Boughton, inscription, 19
 Greta Bridge, inscription, masonry, vallum, 366, 596-598
 Goodmanham, roadway, 467
 Grundesburgh, pottery, 435
 Guilsborough, camp, 244

 Haceby, bath, pavements, 176-177
 Halford Bridge, burials, weapons, 343
 Halstock, pavement, 56-58
 Ham, East, sepulchral remains, 77-79
 Hampstead, lamps, urns, etc., 183
 Hazeleigh, stone coffin, 79
 Headley, camp, 499

 Hedingham, remains of roadway, 430
 Hemel Hempstead, lamp, vases, etc., 132
 Hexham, coins, inscription, 246
 High Rochester, baths, inscription, station, 247, 249, 255
 High Wycombe, pavement, 13
 Higham Ferrers, urn burial, 235
 Highwood Hill, camp, 132-133
 Hinckley, bronze lamp, 167
 Hints, inscribed pig of lead, 301
 Hoe-Benham, roadway, 448
 Hod-hill, camp, 58-59
 Hollingbourne, sepulchral urns, 146
 Holmfirth, coin, 375
 Horsefield, slave chain, etc., 94
 Horton Kirby, building, 146
 Hounslow Heath, roadway, 443
 Housesteads, baths, inscriptions, wall tower, 249-251, 255
 Hunnum, baths, 255
 Hunsborough, camp, 243-244

 Ickham, remains of buildings, 146-147
 Ickleton, buildings, 15
 Islington, arrow-heads, camp, coins, inscribed stone, pottery, 183-185
 Islip, interments, 236

 Kegworth, urns, 167
 Keston, circular buildings, coins, fibulae, pottery, stone coffins, urn, 147-150
 Kettlethorpe, coin, roadway, 463, 464
 Kilham, amber beads, ornaments, skeleton, etc., 366-367
 Kingsclere, camp, 439
 Kingsholm, coins, stone coffin, urns, etc., 92-93
 Kingston-on-Thames, considerable remains, urns, 167, 462
 Kippax, ashes, glass bottle, etc., 367-368
 Kirkby Thor, camp, inscriptions, 345
 Kymerc, roadway, 436-437

 Laleham, camps, 441-442
 Lancaster, coins, pottery, 163
 Lanchester, baths, 255
 Lancing Down, coins, ornaments, pavement, tumulus, 341-342
 Langford (Lower), pavement, 291
 Lee, brass statue, 9
 Leeds, castrum, fordway, pavement, urn, 423, 424
 Leetham, weapon, 415

Leicester, buildings, inscription, millitary, pavements, walls, 168-170, 593
 Lincoln, bath, coins, gate, inscriptions, pavements, pottery, walls, etc., 177-179, 395-397, 593
 Lindfield, roadway, 462
 Lingards, coins, 375
 Linley Hall, villa, 264
 Litlington, burials, villa, etc., 15-16
 Little Chesters, baths, 255
 Littleborough, stone tally, 260
 Littlecot, pavement, 448
 Littleton, villa, 289-290
 Llandiniolen, inscription, 404-405
 Llangefni, burial, 401
 Llanlenna, burial, 401
 Londesborough Park, roadway, 465-467
 London (North): Addle Street, pottery, 559
 Aldgate, wall, 221
 Artillery Lane, coins, pottery, urns, etc., 204, 558
 Basinghall Street, pottery, 558
 Bethnal Green, leaden coffin, 181-182
 Birchin Lane, pavement, 188, 485
 Bishopsgate Street, pavement, pottery, 186, 201, 204, 553, 558
 Bow Lane, coin, skeleton, 205
 Broad Street, pavement, pottery, 188, 199, 558, 559
 Butcher Hall Lane, beads, coins, pottery, urns, wall, 197, 200, 201, 559
 Bush Lane, foundations, 484
 Camomile Street, pavement, 185-186, 188
 Carter Lane, pottery, 199
 Cateaton Street, pottery, various remains, 197, 200, 558, 559
 Cheapside, bridge, coffins, roadway, 205, 485, 486
 Church Lane, Whitechapel, inscribed stone, 205
 Clement's Lane, pottery, 558, 559
 College Street, Dowgate Hill, pavement, urns, 206
 Cornhill, pottery, 557, 558
 Creed Lane, pottery, 198, 553, 558
 Crooked Lane, pottery, wall, 553, 587
 Crosby Square, pavement, 193-194
 Eastcheap, coins, pavement, pottery, piers, urns, wells, 191-192, 206, 326, 484
 Fenchurch Street, fresco, masonry, pavement, pottery, walls, 207-211

London (North) *continued*—
 Goodman's Fields, burials, coins, urns, 201
 Holborn, pavement, pottery, well, urns, 188, 200, 201-202, 211, 558, 559
 Holywell Street, well, 398
 Honey Lane, bronze vessel, coins, etc., 193, 195
 Halfmoon Street, Bishopsgate, pottery, etc., 199
 Islington, camp, 398
 Jewry Street, wall, 221
 Lad Lane, pottery, urns, etc., 197, 198, 553, 558, 559
 Lambeth Hill, walls, 485
 Leadenhall Street, pavement, urn, 186-187, 188, 194, 212
 Liverpool Street, coins, pottery, 199
 Lombard Street, pavement, pottery, 186-188, 485, 553, 593
 London Bridge, coins, etc., 212, 483
 London Wall, coins, pottery, wall, 192-193, 219-222, 558
 Long Lane, pavement, 188
 Lothbury, coins, pavement, pottery, 187-188, 195, 203, 486, 558, 559
 Ludgate, figures, inscription, 213
 Miles Lane, wall, 206, 484
 Monument, aqueduct, baths, 214
 Moorgate Street, inscription, pavement, pottery, urns, 199, 215
 Newgate Street, coins, pottery, wall, 192, 197
 Nicholas Lane, inscriptions, lamps, pottery, 190, 215
 Northumberland Alley, pavement, 188
 Pall Mall, glass vessel, 593
 Paternoster Row, coins, pavement, pottery, 200, 558, 559
 Playhouse Yard, coins, pottery, 199, 200, 558
 Queen Street, Cheapside, animal remains, coins, fresco, pavement, pottery, urns, 196-197, 553, 558, 559
 Saddler's Place, pottery, 558, 559
 St. Clement's Lane, beads, coins, lamps, pavement, pottery, urns, 216, 326
 St. Helen's, Great, pottery, 558, 559
 St. Pancras's Church, camp, 320, 398
 St. Paul's, animal remains, burials, coins, pavement, pottery, 185, 202-203, 216-217, 485, 558, 559

London (North) *continued*—

- St. Swithin's Lane, pottery, 558
 Shoe Lane, pottery, 204, 559
 Shoemaker Row, pottery, 199
 Smithfield, West, urn, 199
 Spitalfields, camp, 320
 Strand Lane, bath, 398
 Thames, bed of, bronze head, coins, keys, etc., 190-191, 588
 Thames Street, bath, wall, 217-219, 485, 587
 Threadneedle Street, pottery, 559
 Tower, foundations, coins, 189, 190
 Water Lane, Tower Street, bottles, pottery, etc., 201, 558, 559
 Watling Street, roadway, 485
 Whitechapel, urns, 195, 201
 Widegate Street, coins, pottery, urns, etc., 204
 Wood Street, pavement, 198, 551
 London (South): Borough, High Street, pavement, pottery, sepulchral remains, etc., 323-325, 327, 486
 Deptford, sculpture, 504
 Deveril Street, urns, 196, 326, 327
 Dissenters' Burial Ground (near), hypocaust, 320
 King Street, burial-place, 321, 486
 Lambeth Marshes, embankment, 503
 London Bridge, mortar, 320
 New Cross, simulum, 504
 St. George's Fields, burials, pavements, river embankments, 503
 St. Saviour's Church (near), animal remains, coins, glass, key, pavement, pottery, etc., 320, 321, 327, 486
 St. Thomas's Hospital, Samian ware, 323
 Tooley Street, bottles, lamps, pottery, etc., 202, 325, 326, 558
 Union Street, pottery, 319, 324
 York Street, cinerary vase, 324
 Louth, pavement, 94
 Lowborough Hill, buildings, intrenchments, etc., 4-5
 Lulworth, sculpture, 59
 Lyminge, church built on villa, 150-152
 Lynne, remains of camp, 152-153
 Machynlleth, copper mining shaft, 407
 Malton, coins, human remains, inscriptions, pottery, roadway, etc., 368-370

- Manchester, coins, inscription, paterae, sculpture, sword-head, urn, etc., 163-165, 594
 Mansfield, pavements, 260-261
 March Inch, weapon, 415
 Margate, coin, rock graves, sword, 153
 Market Overton, coins, ornaments, pottery, sculpture, 175, 262-263, 594
 Market Weighton, coins, iron scoria, pottery, roadway, 464, 467
 Marston St. Lawrence, coins, skeleton, 244
 Matlock Moor, inscribed pig of lead, 583
 Medbourn, coins, foundations, pavements, pottery, 170-173
 Melbury Abbas Hill, coins, skeletons, 60
 Meux, pavement, 370
 Milfield Hill, urn with bones, 251, 252
 Milton, leaden coffin, ornaments, skeleton, spear-heads, urns, etc., 153-156
 Mill Flats, camp, 420
 Modbury, gateways, walls, 44-45
 Moffat, breast-plate, 415-416
 Muncremouth, coins, skeleton, etc., 64
 Netherby, baths, buildings, inscriptions, etc., 34-35, 255, 386
 New Cross, simulum, 504
 Newbury, camps, pottery, roadway, spear-head, vase, etc., 445, 446, 447
 Newcastle, inscriptions, 252
 Newington, head of Janus, 461
 Northampton, coins, 244
 Nunnery, inscription, 36
 Oakley, pavement, 94, 95
 Ockenden (North), pottery, urns, 80
 Oconyate, hypocaust, 456
 Olney, coins, pottery, etc., 11
 Pangbourn, coins, skeletons, etc., 6-7
 Penrith, fibula, 36
 Penrith (Old), gold fibula, inscriptions, 385-386
 Perton, skeletons, urns, 133-134
 Pevensy, camp, walls, 494, 496
 Piercebridge, see "Cliffe"
 Pitney, villa, 291-292
 Plaxtol, foundations, statuette, etc., 594
 Plim Bridge, building, 45
 Plimpton Wall, inscriptions, 36-38
 Port Talbot, inscription, 405-407
 Preston, buildings, coins, pottery, etc., 60-62
 Pulborough, pigs of lead, 342
 Pykethwaite Fell, camp, 38

- Radipole, urn burial, 62-63
 Rapley's farm, camp, pottery, 440
 Ratby, camp, 173-174
 Reculver, fibulæ, knife, ligula, pottery, spoon, strigil, 156, 553
 Ribchester, helmet, etc., 165, 568
 Richborough, bullæ, 157
 Risingham, bath, coins, inscriptions, 252-259
 Rivenhall, coin, pavement, 80-81
 Rochester, pottery, 157
 Romanby, roadway, 371
 Romney Marsh, pottery, 152
 Rooks Down, camp, 444
 Ropley, gold collar, 112
 Rougham, barrow-tombs, 309-317
 Royston, coins, pottery, skeletons, 134-135
 Rudge, pavement, 448

 St. Albans, leaden coffin, nails, tiles, etc., 135-136; *see* "Verulam"
 St. Briavels, camp, etc., 230
 St. Hilary, inscription, 595
 St. Pancras, camp, 398
 Sarum (Old), masonry, subterranean passage, 351-352
 Sawston, burial, 16
 Scarborough, urns, 371
 Sedburgh, camp, 427
 Settle, coins, encampments, 371
 Severn (the), bowls, vase, 105-107
 Sharperton, camp, 245
 Sheffield, burial-place, 7
 Shellingfield Wood, entrenchments, 158
 Shepton Mallet, pottery kiln, 293-294
 Shooter's Hill, *see* "Pangbourne"
 Shotford, pottery, 436
 Shottenton Hill, intrenchments, 158
 Sidbury Castle, camp, 475, 478, 479
 Sidmouth, bronze centaur, 46, 481
 Silchester, camps, intrenchments, roadways, foundation of town, 114-121, 438, 439, 446
 Sileby, lamp-stands, urns, 174
 Sinodun Hill, camp, 448
 Slack, brick and tile kiln, buildings, coins, hypocaust, inscriptions, pavement, urns, 371-376
 Slaughter (Upper), coffin, 95
 Slinfold, coins and other remains, 461
 Skinburness, inscription, 38-39
 Soddington, aqueduct, brick-kiln, pavement, 356-357
 South Shields, baths, 255
 Southfleet, coins, urns, 158-159

 Southwark, *see* "London, South"
 Spettisbury, burials, 63-64
 Stafford, pavement, 302
 Stainby, bath, coins, pavement, villa, 180
 Stainland, coins, 375
 Stamford, pavement, 180
 Stanemore, walls, 64-66
 Stanfordbury, ornaments, 7
 Stanhope, inscription, 66
 Stilton, coins, leaden coffin, urn, 140
 Stisted, urns, 450, 451
 Stonesfield, coins, villa, 261
 Stonepark Wood, camp, 530
 Stratton, roadway, 436
 Stretton, camp, mound, tumulus, 456, 499
 Sunninghill Road, bricks, pottery, tiles, 441
 Sutton, bronze figure of god, stone quarry, 428
 Sutton Coldfield, camp, roadway, 456-457
 Swanmore, urns, 132
 Syreford, *see* "Wycomb"

 Tarraby, inscription, 39-40
 Tasburgh, roadway, 436
 Ternbridge, coins, urns, etc., 264-265
 Teynham, villa, 159
 Thong, armour, camp, human remains, spear-head, 529
 Thornborough, barrows, 12
 Thruxton, candelabrum, pavement, 112-114
 Thurstonland, coins, 376
 Tichmarsh, interments, 236
 Tregilgas, gold fibula, 384

 Upchurch, buildings, hypocaust, pottery, 160-161, 550
 Uphill, coins, 294-295
 Uttoxeter, bronze vessel, 302

 Verulam, coins, remains of station, 389-395

 Walesby, villa, 180-181
 Wallingford, camp, 446
 Wallsend, baths, 255
 Walton, altar, 26
 Walton-upon-the-Hill, remains, 461
 Walton Chesters, baths, 255
 Wansford, sculpture, urn, 244-245
 Wantage, camps, 446
 Ware, coins, stone coffins, etc., 139, 137

- Warminster, coin, foundations, pavement, 352-354
Warter, coins, fibulæ, keys, roadway, 466
Water Moor, near Cirencester, inscriptions, 82-86
Water Newton, coins, earthworks, etc., villa, skeletons, urns, 140, 141, 429
Weldon, pavement, remains, 429-430
Wellow, coins, pavements, wall, 295-297, 596
Welnetham, pottery, 309
Wem, camp, 265
Whatley, villa, 297
Whitechurch, pavement, 230
Whitley Castle, baths, 255
Whittlesey, gold ring, 17
Whitton, pavement, wall foundations, etc., 317-318
Wibtoft, earrings, gauntlets, skeletons, etc., 174
Wickham Brooke, coins, fibulæ, 318
Wickham Creaux, urns, 161
Wight (Isle of), coins, urns, 596; *see* "Carisbrooke," "Comby"
Wilmcote, animal remains, coins, pottery, skeletons, well, 343
Winchester, bronze objects, coins, fibulæ, pavement, pottery, etc., 122-127
Winklebury, camps, 444
Witham (river) shield, 81
Withington, pavement, villa, 95
Wolfardisworthy, coins, 41
Woodburn, inscription, 253
Woolpit, earthworks, 312
Worcester, buildings, coins, pottery, well, 357-358, 595
Worlingham, pottery, road, 497
Worsley, pits, roadway, 165-166
Wotton, coins, inscriptions, pottery, 96
Wrating, Great, coins, pottery, etc., 308
Wraxhall, North, burials, coins, fibulæ, villa, 354-356
Wroxeter, remains of city, 265-284
Wycomb, coins, fibulæ, foundations, pottery, sculpture, etc., 97-105
Wymondham, coins, pavement, 175
York, burials, coins, city walls, inscriptions, ornaments, pavements, pottery, walls, 377-384
Yoxall, urns and human bones, 303





INDEX.

- Abbey church of Lannercost, Roman inscription in, 33
 Acetabulum, made of pottery, 552, 557
 Actæon, representation of, on pavement, 88
 Adaman, residence of, at Newton Kyme, 421, 422
 Adders' eggs, discovered at Caerhun, 404
 Adurni, Portus, site of, at Alderton, 333; at Aldrington, 438; at Shoreham, 460
 Æsculapius, figured on pavement at Bramdean, 110
 Agriculture, British, 521, 547
 Agricultural implements, discovered at Bigberry, 141
 Agrippa, coins of, discovered, 77
 Akeman Street, at Oxford, 447
 Alænus, the river, 472
 Alcestria, site of, at Aulcester, 342
 Aldby, site of Derventio, 371
 Alderton, site of Portus Adurni, 333
 Aldis (W.), on Castor in Norfolk, 496-498
 Aldrington, site of Portus Adurni, 438
 Alexander, coins of, discovered, 240
 Alexander Severus, coins of, discovered, 103, 203
 Alfred, King, palace of, at Bramdean, 110
 Allectus, coins of, discovered, 54, 103
 Alnmouth, grain shipped from, 245
 Alone, site of, at Papcastle, 426
 Altars, 597-601; *see* "Inscriptions"
 Amber beads, discovered at Desborough, 237; near Dorchester, 51; at Kilham, 367
 Ambleside, site of Galacum, 426
 Amboglana, identification of, 21
 Amethyst pendants, discovered at Milton, 153
 Amphitheatre, site of, at Aldborough, 361; at Caerleon, 223-227; at Dorchester, 46-48; at Mark Inch, 415; at Verulam, 390-394
 —, scenes figured on pottery, 43
 —, ticket for, discovered in Wiltshire, 346
 Amphoræ, discovered at Ickham, 147
 — of wine, placed in perforated stones, 58, 59
 Ampulla, glass, discovered at Dover, 146
 Amulets, found near Dorchester, 50, 51; at Keston, 150; at Milton, 153
 Ancalites, submission of the, to Cæsar, 544
 Ancaster, site of Causennis, 429
 Anchors, discovery of, at Axminster, 472; in Fleet river, London, 202
 Anderesio, site of, 490, 495
 Anderida, site of, at Arundel, 460, 461; at Pevensey, 488-496
 Anderida, forest of, 459, 460
 Anglesea, local discoveries in, 401
 Anglo-Saxon coins, discovered at Lancing Down, 341; at London Bridge, 212; at Slack, 374
 — king's seat at Wolsercestre, 499
 — remains, discovered at Kingsholm, 93; near Warter, 467
 Anglo-Saxons, destruction of Anderida by, 489; conquest of Wroxeter by, 267, 274, 278
 Animal bones, found at Amotherby,

- 362; at Barrow-on-Soar, 166; at Bath, 287; at Bignor, 332; at Caister, 230; at Carisbrooke, 131; near Colchester, 73; near Crawford, 236; at Crendon, 9; at Ickham, 147; Keston, 150; London, 185, 187, 197, 200, 201, 211, 321; at Malton, 369; at Milton, 154; at North Ockenden, 80; near Port Talbot, 407; at Radipole, 62; at Tichmarsh, 236; at Walesby, 181; at Warminster, 353; at Wilmcote, 343; at North Wraxhall, 356; at Wroxeter, 273, 274, 280; at Wycomb, 100
- Animal (prehistoric) remains at Castor, 240; at Kettering, 237
- Animals, impression of feet, on pottery, 484
- Anicetis, site of, at Croydon, 462
- Anlaf, sailing of, up the Thames, 487
- Ansam, site of, at Stratford, 435
- Antonine Itinerary, 586; *see* "Itinerary"
- Antoninus Pius, coins of, discovered, 14, 41, 54, 60, 103, 125, 163, 186, 192, 204, 212, 216, 246, 257, 262, 320, 322, 370, 449, 451, 464
- Apollo, bronze head of, discovered in London, 190-191
- Aqueduct, discovered at Chichester, 340-341; at Elmham, 497; at Linley Hall, 264; in London, 214; at Soddington, 357
- Arcadius, coins of, discovered, 97, 100, 103, 394
- Arched vaulting, discovered at Rougham, 313
- Archer, bronze figure of, discovered in London, 197
- Architecture, Norman, origin of, from Roman, 210
- Architectural fragment, discovered in London, 191; *see* "Masonry," "Sculpture"
- Ardaneon, site of, at Guildford, 462
- Ardingly, Cold Harbour near, 333
- Aretium, pottery from, 555, 556
- Arezzo ware, 563, 564-565, 566
- Armilla, discovered near Cambridge, 14; near Dorchester, 50, 53; at Wycomb, 104
- Armina, station of, 45
- Armlet, discovered at Stanfordbury, 7
- Armour, discovered at Bray, 5; at Halford Bridge, 343; at Moffat, 415-416; at Thong, 529
- Armour, bronze statuette showing, discovered at Wycomb, 100
- , helmets, 568-572
- Arrow-heads, bronze, discovered at Winchester, 124
- , iron, discovered at Lincoln, 397
- Arrows, discovered at Lancing Down, 341
- Arthur's round table, amphitheatre at Caerleon, so-called, 227
- Artis (E. T.), on discoveries at Castor, 240-242
- Arundel, site of Anderida, 460, 461
- Ashwell Street, roadway called, 15
- Attrebatæ, Commius, King of the, 535-538
- Augustus, coins of, discovered, 93, 163, 261
- Aurelian, coins of, discovered, 54, 199
- Axe, discovered at Wroxeter, 273; at Wycomb, 104
- Axmouth, trade carried on at, 472
- Aylesford, British occupation of, 528
- Bacchante, representation of, on pavement, 88
- Bacchus, figured on pavement in London, 187, 212; at Thrupton, 113, 114
- Baigent (F. J.), on leaden coffin, found at Bishopstoke, 107-109
- Baker (G.), on discoveries at Castor, 238-242
- Balance, bronze, discovered at Canterbury, 143
- Barking Creek, site of Durokitum, 449
- Barnes (W.), on amphitheatre at Dorchester, 46-48
- Barrows, on Bartlow Hills, 67, 553; at Hollingbourne, 146; discovered at Rougham, 309-317; at Thornborough, 12; at Warminster, 353
- , circular, at Blewberry, 5; near Duncton, 338, 339, 340
- Barry (H.), on discovery in Wiltshire, 346
- Bartlow Hills, barrows on, 67, 553
- Basingstoke, roadway to, 439, 444
- Basket-work, found on Bartlow Hills, 67
- Bath, roadways to, 443-444, 448
- Baths, at Bath, 284; Beaconsfield, 261; Benwell, 255; Bignor, 328-329; Birrens, 255; Bletchingley, 318; Bromham, 350; Caerhun, 403; Caerleon, 228; Caerborran, 255;

- Carisbrooke, 128, 129; Carlisle, 255;
 Corbridge, 255; Duncton, 337; Eb-
 chester, 255; Hazeby, 176; Hun-
 num, 255; Lanchester, 255; Lincoln,
 177; Little Chesters, 255; London,
 214, 217-219, 398; Netherby, 35,
 386; Pitney, 291; Risingham, 254,
 255; Silchester, 116; South Shields,
 255; Stainly, 180; Walesby, 181;
 Wallsend, 255; Walton Chesters,
 255; Whitley Castle, 255; Wrox-
 eter, 268, 281
 Baydon, station near, 346-347
 Beads, discovered at Colchester, 74; at
 Lancing Down, 341; in London,
 186, 197, 321, 323, 325; at North
 Wraxhall, 355; at Wroxeter, 282
 —, amber, discovered at Des-
 borrough, 237; near Dorchester, 51;
 at Kilham, 367
 —, clay, found near Dorchester, 51
 —, earthen, discovered at Milton,
 153
 —, glass, discovered at Desborough,
 237; near Dorchester, 50, 51; at
 Kilham, 367; in London, 210, 216;
 at Wycomb, 104
 —, pearl, found near Dorchester,
 51
 Bears, dancing, figured on urn, 75
 Bear's Field, place so-called at Caerleon,
 227
 Bede (Cuthbert), on remains at Folkes-
 worth, 138-140
 Bedfordshire, local discoveries in, 3-4,
 237
 Beggy Hill Way, road so-called at
 Upper Slaughter, 95
 Belgæ, boundary of the, 439
 Bell, discovered at Bath, 285
 Bell (William), on helmets worn by
 Romans, 568-572
 Bellamy (John), tessellated pavement at
 Halstock, 56-58
 Bellbrook, river, at Wroxeter, 267, 268
 Bentley (S.), on bronze vessel dis-
 covered at Uttoxeter, 302-303
 Berks, local discoveries in, 4-7
 Bernwode, forest of, 11
 Bevan (G. Phillips), on remains at
 Caerleon, 225-229
 Bibracte, site of, at Bray, 441
 Bilibroci, occupation of Surrey and
 Sussex by the, 459
 —, submission of the, to Cæsar, 544
 Bidden (Henry L.), on inscribed stone
 near Cambridge, 13-14
 Billericay, site of Cæsarmagum, 449
 Birch (Samuel), on Samian ware, 564-
 565
 Bird remains found at Crendon, 9, 10;
 at Preston, 60
 Bittern, site of Clausentum, 433
 Blackrode, site of Mancunium, 426
 Bloomery, near Okenshaw Wood, 424
 Boadicea, revolt of, 306, 588
 Boar hunt, figured on pottery, 197
 Boars, bones and tusks of, at Stanhope,
 66
 — teeth, discovered near Colchester,
 73
 Bodkin, bone, found at Market Over-
 ton, 263
 —, bronze, found at Market Overton,
 263
 Bolvelaunio, site of, at Pulbora', 462
 Bone bodkin, found at Market Overton,
 263
 —, carved, discovered at Colchester,
 77
 — combs, discovered at Wroxeter,
 282
 — hairpins, discovered at Caris-
 brooke, 131; at Market Overton,
 262
 — handle of sword, found at Market
 Overton, 263
 — pin, discovered at Caerleon, 228;
 at North Wraxhall, 355; at Wrox-
 eter, 273, 282
 Boreovicus, station of, at Housesteads,
 251
 Borough field of Chesterford, villa dis-
 covered in, 72
 Bos longifrons, cranium of, discovered
 at Wycomb, 97, 100
 Botley Copse, station near, 346
 Botley Hill, site of station, 333
 Bottle, glass, discovered at Canterbury,
 142; at Castor, 241; in London,
 197; at Southfleet, 159
 Bovium, site of, at Chester, 425
 Bowness, site of Clunioventa, 426
 Box, copper, discovered at Coddendam,
 304, 305
 —, iron, discovered at Canterbury,
 143; at Milton, 153, 154
 Bracelets, discovered at Lancing Down,
 341; at North Wraxhall, 355; at
 Wroxeter, 282
 —, gold, discovered at Dover, 145;
 at Milton, 154
 Bramham Moor, fragment of roadway,
 428

- Branston, site of Trivonam, 455
 Brass, fragments of, discovered at Dorchester, 54
 — ornaments, discovered at Kilham, 367; *see* "Bronze"
 Bravinium, site of, at Wroxeter, 419, 425
 Bray, site of Bibracte, 441
 Breastplate, discovered at Moffat, 415-416
 Breconshire, local discoveries in, 401-403
 Brementuracum, station of, 29
 Bremetonacim, site of, at Overborough, 426
 Brent (John, jun.), on discoveries at Canterbury, 141-143
 Breuci, inscriptions referring to, 376, 585
 Brick-kiln discovered at Slack, 371-372; at Soddington, 357
 — sepulchre found on Bartlow Hills, 67
 Bricks at Caister, 230, 231, 233
 Bridge, site of, at Broughton, 468
 — over the Thames at Southwark, 487; the Wye at Chepstow, 488
 Brigcasterton, site of Causennis, 429
 Brill, the, camp so called at St. Pancras, London, 398
 British agriculture, 521, 547
 — chiefs and states, 537, 546
 — remains at Wycomb, 99, 100, 102, 104
 — roadway through Coddensham, 305
 — urn, discovered at Carisbrooke, 128
 — works at Silchester, 118
 Briton figured on inscribed stone at Wotton, 96
 Broil, common called the, at Chichester, 334, 340
 Bronze armillæ, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 — arrow heads, discovered at Winchester, 124
 — balance, discovered at Canterbury, 143
 — bodkin, found at Market Overton, 263
 — buckle, discovered at Bigberry, 141; near Dorchester, 51
 — centaur, found at Sidmouth, 46
 — clasps, discovered at Desborough, 237
 — compasses, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 — eagle, discovered at Silchester, 121; at Wickham Brooke, 318
 Bronze ear-ring, discovered at Keston, 150
 — fibula, at Exeter, 41; at Keston, 150; at Shepton Mallet, 294; at Verulam, 394
 — figure of archer, discovered in London, 197; a god, discovered near Sutton, 428; at Winchester, 122, 123
 — hair-pins, found at Market Overton, 262
 — head of Apollo, discovered in London, 190-191
 — hinges, etc., discovered at Canterbury, 142
 — instrument, found near Chelmsford, 72
 — key-rings, found at Silchester, 115
 — lamp, discovered at Huncley, 167; at Kingsholm, 93
 — objects, discovered at Manchester, 163
 — ornaments, discovered at Bignor, 332; at Thornborough, 12
 — penates, found at Silchester, 115
 — pin, discovered at Winchester, 125; at Wroxeter, 273, 282; at Wycomb, 104
 — rings, found at Carisbrooke, 131; in London, 186
 — spear-head, near Port Talbot, 407; at Winchester, 124
 — spoon, discovered at Whatley, 297; at North Wraxhall, 355
 — stamp inscribed, discovered at Wroxeter, 275
 — statue of Jupiter, discovered at Colchester, 74
 — statue, found at Lulworth, 59
 — statuette, discovered at Wycomb, 97, 99, 100, 104
 — torques, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 — tweezers, discovered at Eye, 307
 — urn, found on Bartlow Hills, 67
 — vase, at Carlisle, 27; Exeter, 42; in London, 209; at Winchester, 125
 — vessel, discovered in London, 193; at Uittoxeter, 302-303
 — wire, discovered at Milton, 153
 Brooch, gold, discovered at York, 381
 Brooches, discovered at Caerleon, 228; at Lancing Down, 341, 342
 Brough, site of Petuaria, 403
 Broughton, site of Brige, 468
 Bucket-handle, found at Preston, 61
 Buckinghamshire, local discoveries in, 7-13, 261
 Bugles, glass, discovered at Milton, 153

- Buckles, discovered at Glenalmond, 415; at Lancing Down, 341; at Spettisbury, 63; at Stanfordbury, 7; at Wroxeter, 282; at York, 377
 —, bronze, discovered at Bigberry, 141; near Dorchester, 51
 —, copper gilt, discovered at Milton, 153
 —, iron, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 Buildings, foundations of, discovered at Canterbury, 141; Carisbrooke, 128-129, 130; at Horton Kirby, 146; Ickham, 146; at Keston, 147; at Leicester, 169; at Medbourn, 170; at Silchester, 115-116, 119; at Wycomb, 97, 98-100, 101-103
 Bullæ, discovered at Reculver, 156; at Richborough, 157
 Bulleum, site of, at Gaer, 402
 Bulls, stone figures of, discovered at Burghead, 411
 Burgh, site of Combretum, 435; site of Gariononum, 497
 Burials, discovered at Aldborough, 358-359; Ashby Puerorum, 176; Avisford, 328; Bartlow Hills, 67; Barnsby, 363; Bath, 2872-88; Beaconsfield, 261; Bethnal Green, 181-182; Billericay, 67; Bishopstoke, 107-109; Bromham, 350; Caerleon, 225; Caister, 231, 232; Canterbury, 141, 142, 143; Carlisle, 28; Castor, 239; Chaddleworth, 6; Chester, 17, 19; Cirencester, 83; Clapton, 182-183; Colchester, 74-76, 77; Cranford, 236; Crendon, 9; Densworth, 335-336; Desborough, 237; Dorchester, 48-56; Exeter, 42; Folksworth, 139; Glasgow, 414; Halford Bridge, 343; Ham, East, 77-79; Ilazeleigh, 79; Hemel Hempstead, 132; Higham Ferrers, 235; Islip, 237; Keston, 147, 148, 149; Kilham, 366-367; Kingsholm, 92, 93; Lancing Down, 341-342; Littleington, 16; Llanlinna, 401; London, 201, 205, 321, 324-325; Malton, 368, 369; Margate, 153; Marston St. Laurence, 244; Mellury Abbas Hill, 60; Milton, 153-155; Muncromouth, 64; Ockenden, North, 80; Perton, 133-134; Radipole, 62-63; Rougham, 309-317; Royston, 134-135; St. Albans, 135-136; Sawston, 16; Slack, 373, 376; Slaughter, Upper, 95; Southfleet, 159; Spettisbury, 63-64; Stilton, 140; Ternbridge, 264-265; Thornborough, 12; Thruxton, 114; Tichmarsh, 236; Ware, 136, 137; Water Newton, 140; Wibtoft, 174; Winchester, 126, 127; Wraxhall, North, 354; Wroxeter, 283; York, 377, 379, 380, 381, 384; Yoxall, 303
 Burton (Frederick) on discoveries at Lincoln, 395-397
 Bury, derivation of, in place names, 47
 Bury Walls, place so called, 265
 Busby Marsh, roadway near, 349
 Buttons, discovered at Wroxeter, 273, 282
 —, ivory, discovered at Eye, 307
 Cadmus, legend of, figured on bowl, 106
 Caerhun, site of Conovium, 403
 Caernarvonshire, local discoveries in, 403-405
 Caesar, invasion of, 507-547
 Caesar's Camp, on Holwood Hill, 148; near Wickham Bushes, 440
 Caesaromago, site of, at Billericay, 449; at Chelmsford, 429; at Writtle, 429, 451, 452, 453
 Caistor, near Norwich, site of Venta Icenorum at, 434
 Calcaria, site of, at Newton Kyme, 421; at Tadcaster, 419
 Calleva Attrebatum, site of, at Reading, 432
 Cambodunum, site of, at Cleckheaton, 424; at Slack, 372
 Camboricum, site of, at Cambridge, 430; at Chesterford, 429
 Cambridge, site of Duroloponate, 429; of Camboricum, 430
 Cambridgeshire, local discoveries in, 13-17
 Camelodunum, site of, at Colchester, 435, 449
 Camini or chimneys, 194
 Camp at Allerton, 368, 370; at Banstead, 499; at Belmont Bury, 498; at Bradwell, 69; at Bray, 6; at Burgh, 435; Burgh Castle, 303-304; near Burnfoot, 412; at Caistor, Norfolk, 496; at Chesterton, 499; at Chichester, 334; at Debting, 526; near Dorking, 499; at Eghury, 447; at Farnham, 440; at Glenalmond, 415; at Greta Bridge, 366; at Grimsbury Castle, 447; Guilsborough, 244; Headley, 499; at Highwood Hill, 132-133; at Hod Hill, 58-59; at Hunsborough, 243-244; at Islington,

- 183-185; at Kingsclere, 439; at Kirkby Thor, 345; at Laleham, 441-442; in London, 320; at Market Overton, 262; at Mill Flats, 420; on the banks of the Nen, 431; near Newbury, 446; at Old Carlisle, 29; at Papcastle, 426; near Plim Bridge, 45; at Plimpton Wall, 37; at Pyketwaite Fell, 38; Rapley's Farm, 440; at Ratby, 173-174; at Rook's Down, 444; at Sedburgh, 427; at Settle, 371; at Sharperton, 245; at Shellingfield Wood, 158; Shottenton Hill, 158; Silchester, 446; Sinodun Hill, 448; at St. Pancras, London, 398; at St. Briavels, 230; at Stanemoor, 65-66; at Stonepark Woods, 530; Stretton, 499; at Sutton Coldfield, 457; Thong, 529; at Wall Flat, Leeds, 423, 424; Wallingford, 446; Wantage, 446; at Warminster, 352; at Wem, 265; Winklebury, 444; Wolsercestre, 499
- Camps, the novæ of, 499-501
- Campania, pottery from, 556
- Canca, site of, at Ewell, 461
- Candelabrum, terra cotta, found at Thruxton, 113
- Candlesticks, earthen, discovered at Avisford, 328
- Canonium, site of, at Chipping Hill, 451-453; at Haynes Green, 449
- Canterbury, march of Cæsar to, 524, 525
- Caparn (W. B.), on pottery kiln discovered at Shepton Mallet, 294
- Caracalla, coins of, discovered, 370
- Caractacus, last battle of, 596-597
- Carausius, coins of, discovered, 44, 54, 73, 103, 216, 217, 232, 244, 262, 349, 350, 376, 394, 578
- Carinus, coins of, discovered, 376
- Carlos (E. J.), on remains in London, 207-211
- Carroll (Francis R.), on Iters of Antoninus, 419-429
- Carshalton, site of Noviomagus, 459-460
- Cassi, submission of the, to Cæsar, 544
- Cassivelaunus, Cæsar's battle with, 158, 521, 522, 531, 542, 543, 544, 545
- Castle at Farley, 350; *see* "Camps"
- Castleford, roadway through, 419
- site of Leogolium, 368
- Castleshaw, site of Mamucium, 424
- Castor, site of Durobrivæ, 429
- Catapulta, found at Stretton, 456; at Wall, 456
- Cataractonem, site of, at Thornborough, 426
- Causennis, site of, at Ancaster, 429; Brigcasterton, 429; Nottingham, 429
- Cave, discovered in Southfleet, 530; at Uphill, 2942-95; at Wellow, 295-296
- Caversham, name of, derived from Calleva, 432
- Cel-field Common, earthwork on, 437
- Celtic names of farms, 339
- Celtic remains, *see* "British"
- Celtic stronghold, 469
- Celt, discovered at Dartford, 531; at Leeds, 423; Thong, 529
- Cemetery, Christian, on site of Roman burial-place, 53-54
- Cenimagni, boundaries of the, 431
- conquest of the, 528, 544
- Centaur, bronze, found at Sidmouth, 46, 481
- Ceremonial staff, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
- Ceres, representation of, on pavement, 38
- Chaffers (W.), on Samian ware, 549-553, 559-561, 565-568
- Chain, iron, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
- Chalk, use of, in London buildings, 194-195, 206
- Charcoal, found at Amotherby, 362; at Cirencester, 88; at Glasgow, 414; on Hig Peak Hill, 478-479; at Preston, 60; at Slack, 372, 373; at Warminster, 353; at Wroxeter, 277, 280; at York, 380
- Chariots, use of, by Britons, 546
- Charlton (Lionel), on inscriptions at Risingham, 252-253
- Chartham, battle at, with Cæsar, 523, 525
- Chattaway (Jos.), on remains at Plim Bridge, 45
- Chelmsford, site of Cæsaromago, 422
- Cherry Garden Lane, *see* "Chelmsford"
- Chepstow, bridge at, 488
- Cheshire, local discoveries in, 17-19
- Chester, site of Bovium, 425
- , roadway from, to Colchester, 430
- Chesterford, site of Camborico, 429
- , cemetery of, on site of Roman burial-place, 53-54
- Chesterton, site of Ritunium at, 425
- Chichester, site of Regnum, 432, 459

- Chieftains, British, 537, 546
 Chimney discovered at villa near Bignor, 331; *see* "Camini"
 Chipping Hill, site of Canonium, 451-453
 Chisel, stone, discovered at Walesby, 181
 Chit rocks, rocks so called, 477
 Chitway, iron flags discovered at, 349
 Churches founded on Roman sites at Bradwell, 68, 70; at Brixworth, 238; Castor, 245, 498; at Chichester, 335; at London, 193, 211, 220, 326-327; at Lyminge, 150-152; at Market Overton, 262; at Silchester, 118
 Cicero, mention of Caesar's invasion of Britain by, 513, 539-540, 542, 544
 Cilurnum, site of, at Chesters, 246
 Cinder heaps, discovered at Bromham, 349
 Cirencester, Richard of, *see* "Richard"
 Civilization of the British, 482
 Clabber Napper's Hole, cavern so called, 530
 Clamps, iron, found at Market Overton, 262; at Wroxeter, 272
 Clarke (J.), on sepulchral remains at Kingsholm, 92-93
 Clasp, brass, discovered at Kilham, 367
 —, bronze, discovered at Desborough, 237
 Claudius, coins of, discovered, 11, 42, 59, 77, 93, 96, 134, 200, 206, 216, 241, 257, 307, 484, 579
 Claudius Gothicus, coins of, discovered, 18, 54, 376, 394
 Claudius II., coin of, discovered at Warminster, 353
 Clausentum, site of, near Southampton, 432
 Clavinio, site of, near Slinfold, 461
 Clay, London, capacity of, for pottery, 563
 Clay beads, found near Dorchester, 51
 Cleckheaton, site of Cambodunum, 424
 Clowes (T.), on discoveries at Caister, 230-235
 Clunovienta, site of, at Bowness, 426
 Coal, use of, discovered at Baydon, 347
 —, fragments, discovered at Fescote, 8
 —, traces of, discovered at Wroxeter, 277, 280
 Coal, Kimmeridge, found near Dorchester, 50, 53
 Coast line, ancient, near Sidmouth, 480, 481
 Coccium, site of, near Brightmet Hill, 162; at Ribchester, 426
 Coenaculum, pavement of a, found near Dorchester, 56
 Coffins, interment in, *see* "Burials"
 Cogidunus, King of the Bibroci, 459
 Cohors, meaning of, 413
 Coins, Anglo-Saxon, 267, 274, 278, 489
 Coins, British, 532, 533
 Coins, Greek, 374
 Coins, Plantagenet, 189
 Coins, Roman, discovered at Aldborough, 358, 360, 361; Amotherby, 363; Aulcester, 342; Bartlow Hills, 67; Bath, 285, 287, 288; Baydon, 347; Bewcastle, 20; Blewbury, 5; Bocking, 450; Boston Spa, 423; Box, 348; Bradwell, 68-71; Braine-tree, 450; Bramdean, 110; Bray, 5; Bridge Casterton, 175; Bromham, 350; Buckingham, 7; Burghead, 411; Caister, 231, 498; Cambridge, 14; Canterbury, 143; Carisbrooke, 131; Castor, 239, 240, 241; Chelmsford, 72; Chester, 17, 18, 19; Chichester, 334; Chipping Hill, 453; Chobham, 442; Cirencester, 389; Coddenharn, 304; Coggeshall, 449; Colchester, 73, 77; Cranford, 236; Crendon, 11; Ditchingham, 497; Dorchester, 49, 51, 54; Dorking, 461; Drewton Manor, 464; Dulwich, 436; Ewell, 461; Exeter, 41, 42, 43-44, 387, 579; Farley Castle, 289; Fescote, 8; Fishbourne, 334; Frimley, 443; Gloucester, 92, 93; Hexham, 246; Hod Hill, 59; Ickleton, 15; Islington, 184; Keston, 147; Kettlethory, 464; Lancaster, 163; Lincoln, 177, 397; London 186, 189, 192, 123, 195, 197, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 209, 212, 216, 320, 322, 326, 484; Littleton, 16; Littleton, 290; Little Bowden, 237; Malton, 369, 370; Manchester, 103, 164; Margate, 153; Market Overton, 175, 262, 263; Market Weighton, 464; Marston St. Laurence, 244; Medbourn, 171; Milton, 154; Muncremouth, 64; Newbury, 6; Newton Kyme, 420, 421; North Brierly, 349; Northampton, 244; Olney, 11; Pangbourn, 7; Port Talbot, 407; Preston, 60, 61, 62; Risingham, 257-258; Rougham, 317; Royston, 134; Settle, 371; Shepton Mallet, 294; Shottenton Hill, 158; Silchester, 115, 116, 121; Slack, 374; Slinfold, 461; Southfleet, 158;

- Stainby, 180; Stilton, 140; Stonesfield, 261; Ternbridge, 265; Thruxton, 113; Tichmarsh, 236; Thurstonland, 376; Verulam, 394; Walesby, 180; Ware, 137; Warminster, 353; Warter, 466; Weymouth, 63; Wickham Brooke, 318; Wilmcote, 343; Winchester, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127; Worcester, 357; Wotton, 96; Wrattling, Great, 308; Wraxhall, North, 355; Wroxeter, 266, 273, 274, 276, 278, 281; Wycomb, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103; Wymondham, 175; York, 377, 378, 379
 Colchester, site of Camelodunum, 435, 449; site of Colonia, 429
 —, roadway from, to Chester, 430
 —, tradesman's token of, found in London, 199
 Cold Harbour, places so called, 330, 333, 529, 531
 Collar, iron, found near Dorchester, 55
 Collinson (P.), on skeleton discovered at Muncrumouth, 64
 Colonia, site of, at Colchester, 429
 Combs, discovered at Lancing Down, 341, 342
 —, bone, discovered at Wroxeter, 282
 —, iron, discovered at Baydon, 347
 —, wooden, discovered at Canterbury, 143
 Combretonum, site of, at Burgh, 435
 Commerce, grain exported, 245
 Commodus, coins of, discovered, 8, 200, 232, 370, 407
 Common fields, discoveries in, at Bray, 6; at Littleington, 15, 16
 Compasses, bronze, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 Condate, site of, at Kenderton, 431; at Manchester, 424, 426
 Congiarius plebi, 346
 Conovio, site of, at Caerhun, 403; at Lancaster, 427
 Constans, coins of, discovered, 18, 103, 181, 394
 Constantine, bullæ of, discovered at Richborough, 157
 —, coins of, discovered, 7, 8, 63, 103, 114, 137, 171, 175, 181, 192, 200, 203, 216, 232, 236, 261, 262, 274, 278, 287, 294, 318, 347, 349, 355, 369, 371, 394, 421, 578
 Constantine, junior, coins of, discovered, 175, 232, 394
 Constantius, coins of, discovered, 7, 103, 137, 175, 216, 307, 349, 355, 394, 421
 Constantius II., coins of, discovered, 18, 181
 Copper pan, discovered at Burton, 344
 Copper mining shaft, discovered at Machynlleth, 407
 Corbett (D. A.), on remains of London Wall, 221-222
 Coritani, boundaries of the, 431
 Corn, parched, discovered at Warminster, 352
 Cornwall, local discoveries in, 384, 595
 Cosens (Z.), on discoveries at Shotton Hill, 157-158; on discoveries at Wickham Creaux, 161
 Coway Stakes, crossing of the Thames by Caesar at, 515, 520, 526, 543
 —, identification of Walton with, 319
 Cremation and burial, 52; *see* "Burials"
 Crispina, coins of, discovered, 304, 307
 Crispus, coins of, discovered, 203, 394
 Crooks, iron, found at Preston, 60
 Cross-legged skeletons, found at Thruxton, 114
 Croydon, site of Anicetis, 462
 Crucibles, discovered in London, 206
 Cumæ, pottery from, 555, 560
 Cumber, name of farm, 339
 Cumberland, local discoveries in, 20-40, 384-387
 Dagger, discovered at Bignor, 332; at Lancing Down, 342; at Spettisbury, 63
 Dagger, mediæval, at Exeter, 43
 Danes, remains of, at Burghhead, 411
 Danesfield, place so called, 133
 Daniels, field so-called, 19
 Danum, site of, at Doncaster, 419, 429
 Death, entertainments at, 551
 Decentius, coins of, discovered, 394
 Decimum (Ad), Bignor identified with, 330
 Decius, inscription to, 359-360
 Deer Street, field so-called, 246
 Delgovitia, site of, at Warter, 465-466
 Derbyshire, local discoveries in, 583
 Derventio, site of, at Malton, 369, 370
 —, roadway from, 362, 368, 371
 Destruction of antiquities, 65-66, 529
 — of Bignor Villa, 331-332
 — of camps at Islington, 398; St. Pancras, 398
 — of monument at Aldborough, 361
 — of Pitney Pavement, 292

- Destruction of wall at Verulam, 395
 Deva, site of, at Frodsham, 424, 427
 Devil's Bank, roadway so-called, 330
 Devil's Cross, tumulus so-called, 358
 Devil's Ditch, bank so-called, near
 Duncton, 339, 340
 Devil's Highway, road so-called, 440
 Devil's Pulpit, place so-called, 230
 Devonshire, local discoveries in, 40-
 46, 387, 578-579
 Diana, figured on pavement at Bram-
 dean, 110
 — figure of, discovered in London,
 185; near Wansford, 244-245
 Dinders, name for coins discovered at
 Wroxeter, 266
 Diocletian, coins of, discovered, 103,
 232, 349
 Dish, found on Bartlow Hills, 67
 Divitiacus, King of Soissons, 534
 Dolium, discovered at Dover, 146
 Dolocindo, site of, at Dorking, 461
 Dolychenus, Jupiter, inscription to, 365-
 366
 Domitian, coins of, discovered, 7, 115,
 216, 322, 357, 361
 Donativum militi, 346
 Doncaster, site of Danum, 419, 429
 Dorchester, site of Dunium, 468
 Dorking, camp near, 409, 500-501
 —, site of Dolocindo, 461
 Dornford, site of Durobrivæ, 429
 Dorsetshire, local discoveries in, 46-64
 —, inhabited by Durotriges, 468
 Dover, pharos at, 509
 Dragon, legend of, at Bignor Hill, 339
 Drinking-cups, of Samian ware, 557-
 562
 Dumpdon, hill fortress at, 475
 Dunkin (Alfred John), on Cæsar's
 Cantian Campaign, 520-533
 Dunium, site of, at Dorchester, 468
 Dunwich, site of Sitomagus, 434-436
 Durham, local discoveries in, 64-66
 Durinum, site of, at Dorchester, 468;
 at Castor, 239, 429
 Durnovaria, site of, at Sherborne, 468
 Durobrivæ, site of, at Dornford, 429
 Duroliponte, site of, at Cambridge, 429;
 at Goodmanham, 429
 Durolitum, site of, at Barking Creek,
 449
 Durotriges, inhabitants of Dorsetshire,
 468
 Eagle, bronze, discovered at Silchester,
 121; at Wickham Brooke, 318
 Earrings, discovered at Wibtoft, 174
 —, brass, discovered at Keston, 150
 Earthworks, discovered at Densworth,
 336; at Silchester, 118
 Eboracum, roadway from, 362, 368
 Eccleshall, site of Uriconium, 425
 Edward I., coins of, discovered in
 London, 189
 Edward II., coins of, discovered in
 London, 189
 Eggardon, site of Moridunum, 474
 Elephant, remains of, discovered at
 Castor, 240
 Elesford, ancient importance of, 526
 Elks, horns of, discovered at Wilmcote
 343
 Ellenborough, roadway to, 29
 —, site of, at Galava, 426
 Elmham, site of Venta Icenorum, 497
 Embankments near Duncton, 339-340
 —, river, Thames, 502-504
 Enamel ornamentation, discovered at
 Wroxeter, 282
 England, local discoveries in, 3-398
 Ensa, the Stour formerly so-called,
 435
 Entrenchments near Harrowgate, 359
 Ermine Street, in Southwark, 487
 Ermyng Street at Newbury, 447
 Essex, local discoveries in, 66-81, 387-
 388
 —, roads in, 448-449; stations in,
 449-454
 Etheldred, coins of, discovered in Lon-
 don, 195
 Etocetum, site of, at Wall, 456, 457,
 458
 Etruscan pottery discovered in London,
 199
 — vases, manufacture of, 561
 Eurydice, legend of, figured on bowl,
 105
 Ewell, site of Canca, 461
 Exeter, site of Isca Dumnoniorum,
 468
 Eye, cemetery, 307
 Faggot-fork, discovered at Walesby,
 181
 Fairless (Joseph), on inscription, coins,
 etc., at Hexham, 246
 Falcombe, slope of hill, so-called, 81
 Farnham, roadway from, 442-443
 Farningham Wood, hill so-called, 147
 Fauns, dancing, figured on pottery, 42
 Faustina, coins of, discovered, 54, 122,
 134, 200, 203, 204, 216, 257, 370, 579

- Faustini Villa, site of, at St. Edmondsbury, 429
 Fibulae, discovered at Canterbury, 143; at Dorchester, 54; at Exeter, 41; at Keston, 150; at Lancing Down, 342; at Shepton Mallet, 294; at Stanfordbury, 7; at Warton, 466; at Winchester, 122, 123; at Wroxeter, 273, 282; at Wycomb, 97, 100, 104
 — with gold plating, discovered at Wickham Brooke, 318
 —, silver, at Penrith, 36
 Finkley Farm, site of Vindomis at, 107
 Fire, traces of destruction by, at Carisbrooke, 130; at Haceby, 177; in London, 188, 216; at Silchester, 114; at Slack, 373; at Wycomb, 100
 Fisher (T.), on remains discovered in London, 185-188
 Flavius Victor, coins of, discovered, 103
 Flax, comb for carding, discovered at Baydon, 347
 Fleet, river, discoveries in, 200, 201, 202
 Flints, worked, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 Flora, representation of, on pavement, 88
 Folkmoot at Folkesworth, 138
 Folly, the, earthwork so-called, 530
 Folly Farm, roads through, 448
 Fordway, across the Wharfe, 420-428
 Forest of Bernwode, disafforesting of, 11
 Forum at Silchester, 120, 121
 Fosbrooke (T. D.), on discoveries at St. Briavels, 230
 Foundation sacrifice, legend of, 551
 Fowke (Richard), on discoveries at Hinckley, 167
 Fowl, bones of, discovered with interment, 342
 Frescoe paintings at Cambridge, 14; at Castor, 240; Comberton, 15; in London, 196, 209; at Verulam, 393; at North Wrexhall, 356; at Wroxeter, 272, 276
 Frisian troops employed in Britain, 85
 Frodsham, site of Deva at, 424-427
 Galacum, site of, at Ambleside, 426
 Galava, site of, at Ellenborough, 426
 Galba, coins of, discovered, 273, 397
 Galley hill at Silchester, 119
 Gallienus, coins of, discovered, 54, 257, 376, 394
 Gallows Hill, mound so-called, 367
 Ganymede, legend of, figured on bowl, 105
 Garianonum, identified with Burgh Castle, 303-304, 497
 Gates, discovered at Castor, 498; at Lincoln, 395-397
 —, unmortared, at Lincoln, 177
 Gatton, site of Omire, 460, 461
 Gauntlets, discovered at Wibtoft, 174
 Germanicus, coins of, discovered, 103
 Gladiators, figured on Samian ware, 210; on urns, 75
 Glamorganshire, local discoveries in, 405-407
 Glass, discovered at Exeter, 42, 387; at Verulam, 394; at Warminster, 353
 —, coloured, discovered at Milton, 153
 — ampulla, discovered at Dover, 146
 — beads, discovered at Desborough, 237; near Dorchester, 50; at Kilmington, 367; in London, 210; at Wycomb, 104
 — bottle, at Caerleon, 225; at Canterbury, 142; at Castor, 241; at Densworth, 336; at Kippax, 367-368; at Southfleet, 159
 — bowl at Netherby, 35
 — bugles, discovered at Milton, 153
 — making, possible furnaces for, at Castleford, 368
 — objects, discovered at Caerleon, 228
 — pins, found near Dorchester, 50
 — rod, discovered at Canterbury, 142-143
 — urn, found at Ashby Puerorum, 176; at Ternbridge, 265
 — vase, discovered at Hemel Hempstead, 132; at Rougham, 311
 — vessels, found in barrow on Bartlow Hills, 67; at Bath, 285; at Bishopstoke, 108; at Chichester, 334; at Colchester, 74, 77; in London, 186, 321, 324; at Milton, 155; at Wroxeter, 273; at York, 384
 — window, found at Carisbrooke, 131; at Haceby, 177; at Silchester, 116; at Wroxeter, 272
 Glatton, name of farm near Bignor, 339
 Gloucestershire, local discoveries in, 81-107, 389, 579-580, 590
 Goat's horns, discovered at Gloucester, 92
 Godmanchester, site of Duroiliponte, 420, 430

- Gold armilla, discovered near Cambridge, 14
 — bracelet, discovered at Dover, 145;
 at Milton, 154
 — brooch, discovered at York, 381
 — collar, found at Ropley, 112
 — fibula, discovered at old Penrith,
 386; at Tregilgas, 384
 — objects, discovered at Caerleon,
 228; at Eye, 307
 — ring, found on Bartlow Hills, 67;
 at Whittlesey, 17
 Gordian, coins of, discovered, 61, 181,
 216
 Government aid to excavations, 152-153
 Grain, shipping of, from Alnmouth, 245
 Gratian, coins of, discovered, 7, 51,
 121, 127, 175, 295, 371, 394, 453
 Greek coins, discovered at Slack, 374
 — inscription on ring, 17
 — culture, influence of, in early
 Britain, 482
 Green (Richard), on discovery of in-
 scribed pig of lead, 301
 Grimsbury Castle, camp so called, 447
 Grinstead, East, site of Ibernio, 462
 Guildford, site of Ardaneeon, 462
 Gypsen, river, ford over the, 305
- Habitancum, station of, 254
 Hadfield (Alfred), on discoveries on
 Brightmet Hill, 162
 Hadrian, bronze head of, discovered in
 London, 190-191
 —, coins of, discovered, 41, 43, 49,
 54, 67, 125, 201, 203, 262
 Hairpins, jet, discovered at Bethnal
 Green, 182
 Hammer, pebble, discovered at Wy-
 comb, 104
 Hampshire, local discoveries in, 107-132
 Hand-mills, remains of, discovered at
 Walesby, 181
 Hanshall (J. H.), altar at Great
 Boughton, 19
 Hare-hunting represented on knife at
 Reculver, 156
 Haynes Green, site of Canonium, 449
 Heating apparatus, 194
 Heaven's Walls, field so called, 16
 Hedington, site of Verlucio at, 349, 350
 Helena, coins of, discovered, 73, 103,
 394, 421
 Helmets, use of, by Romans, 568-572
 — found at Blandford, 46; at Rib-
 chester, 165
 —, iron, discovered at Thrapston, 236
- Hembury, site of Moridunum, 474
 Henry II., palace of, at Winchester, 124
 Henslow (J. S.), on discoveries at
 Rougham, 313-316
 Herculanum, Samian ware discovered
 at, 564
 Hercules, figure of, discovered at Win-
 chester, 122, 123
 —, legend of, figured on bowl, 106-
 107
 Hercules and Antæus, figured on pave-
 ment at Bramdean, 109, 111
 Herennia, coins of, discovered, 43
 Hermon Street, sepulchral remains
 found near, 96
 Hertfordshire, local discoveries in, 132-
 137, 389-395
 High Peak Hill, site of Moridunum on,
 474-482
 High Street, road so called near Sid-
 ford, 480
 Hill, villa built on slope of, 81-82
 Hill (Seat), on discoveries at Kirkby
 Thor, 345
 Hinge, discovered at Wroxeter, 282
 Historical notes, 507-572
 Hoare (Sir R. C.), on discoveries at
 Farley, 350-351; at Littleton, 289-
 290; at Pitney, 291-292; on pave-
 ment at Thruxton, 113-114
 Hodgson (John), altar at Carlisle, 30;
 on discoveries at Risingham, 253-259
 Hog's barrow, near Duncton, 339
 Holystone, St. Paulinus at, 245
 Holwood Hill, station on, 147, 148
 Honorius, coins of, discovered, 103, 241
 Hoo, occupied by the Trinobantes, 528
 Hornbank, hill so called, 359
 Horse, remains of, discovered at Bath,
 287; at York, 381
 Horse-branks discovered at Glenalmond,
 415
 Horse burial near Dorchester, 54-55
 Horseshoe discovered at Carlisle, 28;
 at Lincoln, 178; at Malton, 369; at
 Wroxeter, 279
 Horsham, site of Ravimago, 460, 461
 Houlton, site of Moriduno, 468
 House, modern, built on Roman site,
 357
 Howarth (W.), on discoveries at Man-
 chester, 164-165
 Huckeridge Hill, near Sawston, 16
 Hucknell Hill, place so-called, 81
 Hudson (J.), on camp at Pykethwaite
 Fell, 38
 Human bones discovered, *see* "Burial"

- Hunter (Joseph), on inscribed altars at Bath, 286
- Hunting scene on pavement, 87; on pottery, 42
- Huntingdonshire, local discoveries in, 138-141
- Hutchinson (P. O.), on Moridunum, 469-482
- Hutchinson (W.), on discovery at Greta Bridge, 366
- Hypocaust, discovered at Carisbrooke, 128; at Castor, 240, 241; at Chedworth, 82; at Chester, 18; at East Cocket, 40; in London, 186; at Netherby, 34-35; at Silchester, 115, 119; at Slack, 372-373; in Southwark, 320; at Walesby, 181; at Withlington, 95; at Wroxeter, 270, 271, 272, 277, 283
- Ibarnio, site of, at East Grinstead, 462
- Iceni, boundaries of the, 431
—, conquest of the, 496
- Icianos, site of, at Ickburgh, 429
- Ickburgh, site of Icianos, 429
- Ickleton Street, at Reading, 447
- Ingram (J.), on discovery in Wiltshire, 346
- Ikenild Street, near Silchester, 439
- Ikenild Way, through Sutton Coldfield, 456-457
- Imp stone, stone so-called, on Silchester Heath, 445
- Indian troops employed in Britain, 84
- Inscriptions, discovered at Aldborough, 358, 359, 361; Bath, 285, 286, 288, 350; Birrens, 255; Bishop's Castle, 263, 264; Brighton Bridge, 414; Broughton, 111, 112; Burdoswald, 21, 22, 24, 25; Burgh-on-Sands, 26; Burnfoot, 413; Caerleon, 224, 227; Cambridge, 13, 14; Carlisle, 28, 29, 30, 31; Carrowbrough, 255; Carrvoran, 22, 24, 255; Castlecaresy, 255; Cast steeds, 384-385; Chaddlesworth, 6; Chester, 427; Chesters, 246; Chesterton, 242-243; Chichester, 333-334; Cirencester, 82-85; Cliffe, 363-364; Clifton, 32-33; Colchester, 75; Coning-garth, 32; Crickhowre, 401, 402; Crendon, 10; Doncaster, 365; Ebchester, 301; Ellenborough, 27; Figgard, 407-408; Gaer, 402-403; Gainford, 365-366; Great Boughton, 19; Greta Bridge, 366; Hexham, 246; High Rochester, 247-249; Hints, 301-302; Housesteads, 249-251, 255; Hunnum, 255; Islington, 184, 185; Kirkby Thor, 345; Lanercost, 33; Leicester, 168; Lincoln, 178, 179; Little Chesters, 255; Llandinolew, 404; London, 205, 213, 215; Malton, 370; Netherby, 34-35, 255; Newcastle, 252; Nunery, 36; Plimpton Wall, 36-38; Port Talbot, 405; Pulborough, 342; Risingham, 252-257, 258-259; Silchester, 445; Skinburness, 38-39; Slack, 373-374, 375; Stanhope, 64; Tarraby, 39-40; Thruxton, 113; Walton, 26; Whittlesey, 17; Woodburn, 253; Wotton, 96; Wroxeter, 272, 275, 278; York, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 384
- Iron, manufacture of, at Seaton, 472, 473; near Okenshaw Wood, 424
- Iron agricultural implements, discovered at Bigherry, 141
— articles, found at Carisbrooke, 131
— axes, discovered at Wycomb, 104
— boxes, discovered at Canterbury, 143; at Milton, 153
— buckles, discovered at Wycomb, 104
— chain, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
— clamps, found at Market Overton, 262; at Wroxeter, 272
— collar, found near Dorchester, 55
— comb, discovered at Baydon, 347
— crooks, found at Preston, 60
— fragments, discovered with coffin at Upper Slaughter, 95
— helmet, discovered at Thrapston, 236
— horse-shoe, discovered at Wroxeter, 279
— implement, discovered at Folkesworth, 139
— key, discovered at Keston, 150
— lamps, found on Bartlow Hills, 67; at Rougham, 309, 311, 312; at Sileby, 174
— manacles, discovered at Wycomb, 104
— nails, discovered at St. Albans, 135-136; at Warminster, 353; at Wycomb, 104
— objects, near Dorchester, 49, 50, 54; in London, 216
— pin, discovered at Canterbury, 143

- Iron relics, discovered at Barrow-on-Soar, 166
 — rings, discovered at Bigberry, 141;
 at Desborough, 237; at Kilham,
 367; at Preston, 60; at Wycomb,
 104
 — rod, discovered at Rougham, 311
 — scoria, discovered at Risingham,
 257; at Market Leighton, 464
 — shears, discovered at Eye, 307
 — slag, discovered at Bromham,
 349
 — spear-head, discovered at Kilham,
 367; Malton, 369; at Medbourn,
 171; at Milton, 153; at Preston, 60;
 at Thrapston, 236
 — spike, discovered at Burton, 344
 — strigils, discovered at Wycomb,
 104
 — swords, discovered at Milton, 153
 — vessel, discovered at Stanfordsbury,
 7
 Isca Dumnuniorum, site of, at Exeter,
 468
 Isurium, site of, at Aldborough, 303,
 358
 — roadway to, 362
 Italy, pottery from, 555-556
 Ithancester, fortress of, 68
 Itinerary of Antonine, second, 419, 423,
 425, 426, 427, 459; fourth, 445; fifth,
 419, 423, 429-431; seventh, 431-433,
 443, 445, 460; eighth, 419, 423;
 ninth, 434-436, 448-449, 451;
 tenth, 425, 426, 427; eleventh, 427;
 twelfth, 425, 470; fifteenth, 468, 470,
 578
 Itius, Portus, site of, 507-515
 Ivory buttons, discovered at Eye,
 307
 — pin, discovered at Colchester, 74
 Janus, head of, discovered at Newing-
 ton, 461
 Jessop (Charles Moore), on pavement
 at Borough Bridge, 363
 Jet rings discovered at Carlisle, 28
 Joyce (J. G.), on remains at Silchester,
 121
 Julia Augusta, coins of, discovered, 257
 Julia Donina, coins of, discovered, 257,
 276
 Julia Soæmias, coins of, discovered, 54
 Julian, coins of, discovered, 7
 Julius Cæsar, bronze figure of, 43
 Jupiter, bronze figure of, discovered at
 Colchester, 74
 Kempe (A. J.), on remains at Keston,
 148-150; on discoveries at Rougham,
 316-317
 Kenchester, site of Magna, 402
 Kennet, vale of the, 446
 Kent, local discoveries in, 141-161, 594
 —, roadway through, 437-438
 —, Cæsar's invasion of, 520-547
 Kevs, discovered at Warter, 466; at
 Wroxeter, 282; at Wycomb, 97,
 100, 104
 —, brass, discovered at Aldborough,
 360
 —, copper, discovered in London,
 321, 322
 —, iron, discovered at Keston, 150
 —, white metal, discovered at Canter-
 bury, 143
 Key-rings, bronze, found at Silchester,
 115
 Kiln, brick, discovered at Slack, 371-
 372; at Soddington, 357
 —, pottery, discovered at Shepton
 Mallet, 293-294; at Toulon, 575-577
 Kimmeridge coal, found near Dor-
 chester, 50, 53
 Kinderton, site of Condæ, 431; of
 Mediolanum, 425, 426
 King (H. W.), on sepulchral remains at
 East Ham, 77-79
 Kingston-on-Thames, site of Morionio,
 462
 Knife (clasp) discovered at Whatley,
 297
 Knives found at Carisbrooke, 131;
 near Dorchester, 50; London, 195;
 at Market Overton, 263; at Radi-
 pole, 62, 63; at Reculver, 156; at
 Wroxeter, 273, 282; at Wycomb, 97,
 100, 104
 Laches, place so called, 374
 Ladle, discovered at Wroxeter, 282
 Lamps, discovered at Avisford, 328; at
 Colchester, 77; Crendon, 10; at
 Thornborough, 12; at Hemel Hemp-
 stead, 132; in London, 190, 199, 202,
 203, 204, 216; at York, 377
 — bronze, discovered at Gloucester,
 580; Hinckley, 167; at Kingsholm, 93
 — earthenware, discovered at Col-
 chester, 74; at Hampstead, 183; at
 Ternbridge, 265
 — iron, found on Bartlow Hills, 67;
 at Rougham, 309, 311, 312
 — leaden, found at Colchester, 74
 — terracotta, at Exeter, 41

- Lamp-stands, iron, found at Sileby, 174
 Lancashire, local discoveries in, 162-166, 594
 Lancaster, site of Conovio, 427,
 Lancet, surgeon's, discovered at Wroxeter, 283
 Langford (J.), on discoveries in London, 205
 Land's End, roadway from, 45
 Lannercost, inscribed stone, 334
 Lawrence (W. L.), on remains at Wycomb, 97-104
 Lead block inscribed, discovered at Bishop's Castle, 263-264
 — coffin, discovered at Bethnal Green, 181-182; at Bishopstoke, 107-109; at East Ham, 77; at Milton, 155; at Rougham, 313-315, 317; at St. Albans, 135-136; at Upper Slaughter, 95; at Stilton, 140
 — cup, discovered at Wroxeter, 273;
 — horse, found at London Bridge, 212
 — lamp, found at Colchester, 74
 — mines in Shropshire, 263-264
 — pig of, found at Broughton, 111-112; at Hints, 301, 582; at Pulborough, 342
 Leather objects, discovered in London, 203
 Leemans (C.), on Watermoor inscriptions, 83-86
 Legiolium, site of, at Castleford, 368, 419
 Lemanis, Portus, 151
 Leicester, roadway to, 431
 Leicestershire, local discoveries in, 166-175, 593
 Leucomago, site of, at Lewes, 462
 Lewes, site of Leucomago, 462
 Licinius, coins of, discovered, 7, 171, 232
 Limbury, tumulus so-called, 16
 Limloe Hill, barrow so-called, 134
 Lincoln, site of Lindum, 419, 429
 Lincolnshire, local discoveries in, 176-181, 395-397, 593
 Lindfield, site of Lindinis, 462
 Lindinis, site of, at Lindfield, 462
 Lindum, site of, at Lincoln, 395, 419, 429
 Littleborough, military stone, 260
 —, site of Segelosim, 419, 429
 London, British, 483, 502
 —, roadways to, 419, 425, 432, 438, 442
 London, Roman, limits of, 482-488, 502-504
 —, St. Paul's, hill fort on site of, 483
 London stone, the umbilicus castri, 484
 Lucius Aurelianus, coins of, discovered, 343
 Lucius Verus, coins of, discovered, 262
 Luperalian series, coins of, discovered, 62
 Lymne, place of Cæsar's landing at, 521, 523, 525
 Maget, farm so called, 230
 Magnentius, coins of, discovered, 126, 175, 216, 262, 307
 Maiden Castle, station so called, 65
 Maiden Castle near Dorchester, 48
 Maiden Lane, Battle Bridge, inscription found near, 184
 Maidenway, road so called, 20
 Mallison (T.), Roman statue discovered at Lee, 8-9
 Malton, site of Derventio, 369, 370
 Mambury Ring, name for amphitheatre at Dorchester, 47
 Mamma Augusta, 376
 Mammoth, remains of, discovered at Castor, 240
 Mamucium, site of, at Castleshaw, 424
 Manacles, iron, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 Manchester, site of Condate, 424, 426
 Mancunium, site of, at Blackrode, 426
 Mandubratius, action of, with Cæsar, 522, 523, 528
 Map, of Roman remains suggested, 54
 Marcus Antoninus, coins of, discovered, 175
 Marcus Aurelius, coins of, discovered, 122, 438
 Margidunum, site of, 262
 Mars, figured on pavement at Bramdean, 110; at Pitney, 291
 — bronze statuette of, discovered at Wycomb, 100, 104
 Mask, earthenware female, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
 — ornamentation of, on pottery, 326
 Masonry at Bradwell, 69, 70; at Chester, 17; Gloucester, 580; at Greta Bridge, 366; at Pevensey, 494; at Silchester, 116, 117, 118, 120; at Stanmore, 65
 Mastodon, remains of, discovered at Castor, 240
 Matthews (R.), altar at Carlisle, 31-32

- Maximian, coins of, discovered, 43
 Maximinus Daza, coins of, discovered, 54
 Maze, figured on pavement at Caerleon, 229
 Medallion of Vespasian, 306
 Medbourn, site of a station, 429, 431
 Mediaeval pottery discovered at Gloucester, 92
 Medicine, clay used for, 562
 Mediolanum, site of, at Kinderton, 425, 426
 Medusa, representation of, on pavement at Bramdean, 110; at Cirencester, 88; at York, 383
 Medway, crossing of, by Cæsar, 526, 543, 545
 Megatherium, remains of, discovered at Castor, 240
 Meizeo, site of, at Meistham, 462
 Mercury, figured on pavement at Bramdean, 110; on pottery, 43
 Mersham, site of Meizeo, 462
 Middlesex, local discoveries in, 181-222, 398, 586-587, 593
 Midenborough, city of, at Medbourn, 171
 Military stone, discovered at Littleborough, 260
 Millary discovered at Leicester, 168-169
 Mills, hand, found at Amotherby, 363; at Burton, 344; at Chichester, 334; near Huddersfield, 375; at Ickham, 147; at Market Overton, 263
 Milner (J), on sculpture found at Lulworth, 59; on discoveries at Sodding-ton, 356-357
 Milton, origin of the name, 501
 Minerva, altar to, 413
 ——— figured on pavement at Pitney, 291
 ——— inscribed stone to, 333
 Mines, copper, at Machynlleth, 407
 Mining in Shropshire, 263-264
 Mining operations, figured on pavement at Pitney, 292
 Minsmere, crossing of the, by roadway, 435
 Mirrors, metal, discovered at Coddendam, 304, 305; at Wroxeter, 283
 Mithras figured on stone at Housesteads, 250
 ——— sculptured stone of, discovered at York, 377-378
 Modbury, station at, 44-45
 Monmouthshire, local discoveries in, 222-230, 592
 Montgomeryshire, local discoveries in, 407
 Moriduno, site of, at Honiton, 468; near Sidmouth, 469-482
 Morini, inhabitants of Dorsetshire, 468
 Morionio, site of, at Kingston-on-Thames, 462
 Morwoods Causeway, near Up-Ottery, 473
 Mothers-in-law, curious reference to, 499
 Mould, coin, discovered at Wroxeter, 276
 Nails, found at Carisbrooke, 131; at Hemel-Hempstead, 132
 Nails, iron, discovered at St. Albans, 135-136; at Warminster, 353; at Wroxeter, 272, 274; at Wycomb, 104; at York, 380; see "Roofing"
 Names of potters; see "Potters"
 Necklace of beads, found near Dorchester, 50
 Needle, bronze, discovered at Whatley, 297
 Needles, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
 Nen, the river, camps on the banks of, 431
 Neptune, figured on pavement at Bramdean, 110; at Pitney, 291; at Withington, 95
 ——— figured on Samian pottery at London, 192
 ——— inscribed stone to, 333
 Nero, bronze statue of, discovered at Creting, 305
 ——— coins of, discovered, 43, 93, 96, 189, 197, 203, 307
 Nerva, coins of, discovered, 18, 44, 216, 377
 Newbury, site of Spinae, 445, 446
 Newenden, site of Anderida at, 489, 494
 Nore, origin of the name from *novercæ*, 499
 Norfolk, local discoveries in, 230-235
 Nork, origin of the name from *novercæ*, 499
 Norman architecture, origin of, from Roman, 210
 Northamptonshire, local discoveries in, 235-245
 Northumberland, local discoveries in, 245-259, 592
 Nottingham, site of Causennis, 429
 Nottinghamshire, local discoveries in, 259-261
 Novercæ, of camps, 499-501

- Noviomagus, site of, at Carshalton, 459-460
 Nower, origin of the name from *nover-*
ae, 499
 Nuremberg tokens, discovered at Folke-
 worth, 139; in London, 189
 Nutshells, discovered at Wroxeter, 274
 Oculist, stamp of, discovered at
 Wroxeter, 275
 Odiham, site of Vindomis, 433, 468
 Offa, burial of, at Offley, 134
 —, grant of, 491-492
 Offley, burial place of Offa, 134
 Okeley, Cold Harbour near, 333
 Okenyate, site of Uxucona, 425, 455
 Olenacum, station of, 29
 Omire, site of, at Gatten, 460
 Onna, site of, at Wandsworth, 462
 Open fields, bronze figure of Jupiter
 discovered in, at Colchester, 77
 —, urn burial discovered in, 63
 —, amphitheatre at Dorchester in,
 47
 — see "Common fields"
 Ornaments discovered at Cambridge, 14;
 at Caerleon, 228; at Dorchester, 54;
 at Silchester, 117; at Stanfordbury,
 7
 —, bronze, discovered at Thorn-
 borough, 12; at Wycomb, 104
 —, gold, see "Gold"
 Orpheus, figured on pavement, 94, 95;
 on pottery, 42
 Ostorius, fortifications thrown up by,
 431
 Otho, coins of, discovered, 19
 Othona, fortress of, 68
 Overborough, site of Bremetonacum,
 426
 Oyster shells discovered at Blewberry,
 5; at Caister, 230; at Dalton Parlours,
 420; at Coddensham, 306; at Folke-
 worth, 139; at Walesby, 181; at
 Winchester, 125; at North Wrexhall,
 356; at Wroxeter, 273
 Paintings (wall) at Whatley, 297; at
 North Wrexhall, 356; at Wroxeter,
 272, 276; at Verulam, 393
 Pamber, roadway through, 439
 Pampocalia, site of, near Wotherstone,
 428
 Pan, statue of, discovered at Wroxeter,
 276
 Papcastle, site of Alone, 426
 Papienus, coins of, discovered, 153
 — VOL. VII., PART II.
 Parker (J.), on remains at Lyminge,
 151-152
 Parkes (D.), on remains at Wroxeter,
 265-266
 Pateræ, discovered at Stanfordbury, 7
 Paulinus (St.), at Holystone, 245
 Pavements, discovered, 591; at Ald-
 borough, 361, 362; Aldburgh, 303;
 Amotherby, 362; Barton on Trent,
 259-260; Bath, 285, 288; Bewcastle,
 20; Bignor, 328, 329; Boroughbridge,
 363; Box, 347-348; Bramdean, 190-
 111; Bridlington, 364; Bromham,
 349; Caerhun, 403; Caerleon, 229;
 Canterbury, 141, 144; Carisbrooke,
 128, 129; Castor, 239, 241; Chel-
 worth, 82; Cirencester, 87, 88;
 Colchester, 72; Cotterstock, 429;
 Crondall, 443; Dalton Parlours,
 420; Dorchester, 56; Dunton, 337,
 338; East Cocket, 40; Elmham,
 497; Exeter, 44; Farley Castle, 289,
 350; Fishbourne, 334; Gloucester,
 89, 581; Haccby, 176-177; Halstock,
 56-58; High Wycombe, 13; Lancing
 Down, 341; Langford (Lower), 291;
 Leeds, 424; Leicester, 168, 169, 170;
 Lincoln, 177; Litlington, 16; Little-
 cot, 448; Littleton, 289-290; Lon-
 don, 185, 188, 191, 193-194, 196,
 197, 198, 199, 200, 206, 208, 212,
 216, 217, 320, 321, 327; Louth, 94;
 Mansfield, 260-261; Medbourn, 171-
 173; Meux, 370; Oakley, 94-95;
 Pitney, 291-292; Rivenhall, 80-81;
 Rudge, 448; Silchester, 119, 120;
 Slack, 373; Soddington, 357;
 Stafford, 302; Stainby, 180; Stam-
 ford, 180; Stoneshield, 261; Thrux-
 ton, 112-114; Verulam, 391; War-
 minster, 352; Weldon, 429; Wellow,
 295-297; Whatley, 297; Whitechurch,
 230; Whitton, 317-318; Withington,
 95; Wroxeter, 266, 268, 269, 277,
 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284;
 Wymondham, 175; York, 379, 382,
 383
 Pearl beads, found near Dorchester, 51
 Penbroskeshire, local discoveries in,
 407
 Pennocrucium, site of, at Stretton, 456,
 499
 Pensa vel coit, city of, at Pevensey, 495
 Perry (G.), on discoveries at Manches-
 ter, 163
 Petriana, site of, at old Penrith, 385,
 386

- Petuaria, site of, at Brough, 463
 Pevensey, site of Anderida, 489-496
 Pharos, at Dover, 145, 509, 582
 Philippus, coins of, discovered, 54, 387, 394
 Physician's lancet discovered at Wroxeter, 283
 — stamp, discovered at Wroxeter, 275
 Pick, discovered at Machynlleth, 407
 Picket Rock, rock so called, 477
 Pig of lead, *see* "Lead"
 Pignies, represented on pavement at Bignor, 331
 Pile foundations for buildings, discovered in London, 200, 203
 Pine forest submerged near Wall, 457-458
 Pins, discovered at Droitwich, 356; at Wroxeter, 273
 —, bone, discovered at Caerleon, 228; at Carisbrooke, 131; in London, 203; at Market Overton, 262; at North Wraxhall, 355; at Wroxeter, 273
 —, brass, discovered at Kilham, 367; in Southwark, 323; at Standfordbury, 7
 —, bronze, found at Market Overton, 262; at Wroxeter, 273; at Winchester, 125; at Wycomb, 104
 —, glass, found near Dorchester, 50
 —, iron, discovered at Canterbury, 143
 —, ivory, discovered at Colchester, 74
 —, wooden, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
 Pipe Hill, wooden barricade, 458-459
 Pitmead, field so called at Warminster, 352
 Place names of Nower, Nore and Nork, 499
 —, Saxon, 258
 Plautius, Aulus, campaign of, 12
 Plough share, discovered at Bigberry, 141
 Plumpton, roadway from, 29
 Pompeii, Samian ware discovered at, 564
 Pons Ælii, station of, 252
 Pontes, site of, at Staines, 438; at Walton-on-Thames, 432, 459
 Poor Man's Wall, roadway so called, 333
 Porteridges, farm so called, 501
 Post (Beale), on site of Anderida, 488-496
 Postumus, coins of, discovered, 54, 61, 131, 394, 579
 Potters' names, 4, 6, 41; on Samian ware, 547-549, 552-553, 558-559, 566, 577
 Pottery found at Amotherby, 362; at Andover, 107; at Bath, 285, 287, 288; at Billingsford, 436; at Blewberry, 5; at Box, 348; at Brill, 11; at Burgh, 435; at Busby Marsh, 349; at Caerhun, 404; at Caister, 230, 232; at Caistor, 549; at Cambridge, 14; at Canterbury, 142, 143; at Carisbrooke, 131; at Castor, 241; near Chelmsford, 72; at Chichester, 334, 335; at Cirencester, 83; at Comberton, 15; at Crendon, 9; at Cuxton, 144; at Densworth, 336; near Dorchester, 50, 51, 54, 55; at Droitwich, 356; at Exeter, 41, 387, 579; at Gillingham, 161; at Glasgow, 414; at Glenalmond, 415; at Gloucester, 90, 91, 580; at Great Watting, 308; at Grundisburgh, 435; at Ickham, 147; Keston, 148, 149, 150; at Lancaster, 163; at Lancing Down, 341, 342; at Lincoln, 177; in London, 185, 192, 197, 206, 209; at Malton, 368, 369; at Market Leighton, 464; at Medbourne, 170, 171; at Milton, 155; at Newbury, 446; at North Wraxhall, 355; at Olney, 11; at Preston, 60-61; at Rapley's farm, 440; at Rochester, 157; on Romney Marsh, 152; at Rougham, 309, 311; at Sawston, 16; at Shepton Mallet, 293, 294; at Shotford, 436; at Upchurch, 160, 161; at Verulam, 394; at Whatley, 297; at Wickham Bushes, 440; at Wilmcote, 343; at Winchester, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127; at Worlingham, 497; at Wroxeter, 273, 280, 282; at Wycomb, 97, 100, 102, 104; at York, 383 *see* "Samian"
 — furnace, at Caistor, 549
 — kiln, discovered at Shepton Mallet, 293, 294; at Toulon, 575-577
 Poundbury, near Dorchester, 48
 Prætorian gate, at London, 484
 Prættent (J. C.), on perforated stones at Hod Hill, 58-59
 Prehistoric animal remains at Kettering, 237; at Castor, 240; *see* "Mastodon," "Megatherium"
 Preston, site of Varis, 427
 Pretorium at Mill Flats, 420
 Price (E. B.) [E. B. P.], on discoveries

- in London, 184-185, 196-204, 215-217; on Samian Ware, 554-557, 561-564
- Probus, coins of, discovered, 54, 81, 204, 318, 376
- Providentia, coins of, discovered, 42
- Pulborough, site of Bolvelaunio, 462
- Puttock (James), on roads and stations of the Regni, 459-463
- Quamps, field so called at Burton, 343
- Quay-wall at Gloucester, 89-90, 91
- Querns found at Amotherby, 363; at Ickham, 147
- Ravenna catalogue, 460-462, 490
- Ravimago, site of, at Horsham, 460
- Reading, site of Calleva, 432
- Regni, roads and stations of the, 459-463
- Regnum, site of, at Chichester, 432
- Reid (W. Hamilton), on camp at Islington, 183-184
- Repton (John Aderg), on remains at Silchester, 117
- Rhymes, traditional, at Wroxeter, 268
- Ribchester, site of Coccium, 426
- Richard of Cirencester's itinerary, 447, 455, 459, 460, 470, 488, 490
- Richardson (G. B.), on inscription at Newcastle, 252
- Rings, discovered at Lancing Down, 341, 342; at Wroxeter, 273, 277, 282
- , brass, found at Dorchester, 54
- , bronze, found at Carisbrooke, 131
- , copper, discovered in London, 186
- , gold, found on Bartlow Hills, 67; at Chester, 17
- , iron, discovered at Bigberry, 141; at Desborough, 237; at Kilham, 367; at Preston, 60; at Wycomb, 104
- , jet, at Carlisle, 28
- , stone, discovered at Stanfordsbury, 7
- Ritunium, site of, at Chesterton, 425
- River bed at Gloucester, 91
- embankments, Thames, 502-504
- Rivers, *see* Gypen, Rodent, Stour, Thames, Wallbrook, Witham
- Roads and stations, 419-504; near Aberavon, 407; near Ashwell, 15; at Bignor, 328; at Bray, 5; Bromham, 348, 349; Burnfoot, 412; Canbridge, 13; at Coldenham, 304-305; from Derwentio, 362, 368, 369; from Duncton, 339; Gloucester, 90; near Kilham, 367; near Leicester, 168; at Lincoln, 177-178; through London, 211; in Northumberland, 245-246; from Plumpton to Ellenborough, 29; to Portus Adurni, 333; to Old Sarum, 352; from Thrapston to Market Harborough, 235-238; from Totnes, 45; at Worsley, 165, 166; at Wycombe, 97; through York, 379
- Robshaw Hole, stone quarry at, 428
- Robson (John), on Caesar's Cantian Campaign, 533-547
- Robson (Robert), on the time of Caesar's Invasion, 515-520
- Rod, iron, discovered at Rougham, 311
- Rodent, river, derivation of name, 265
- Roffey, identified with Roman name, 461
- Roley Hill, mound so called, 456
- Rolfe (H. W.), on discoveries at Bethnal Green, 181-182
- Romulus and Remus, figured on pottery, 198
- Roofing nails, found at Carisbrooke, 131
- Rosary discovered in Bishopsgate, 204
- Round Hill Tiney, field so called at Wellow, 296
- Royce (David), on leaden coffin at Upper Slaughter, 95
- Rutland, local discoveries in, 262-263, 594
- Rutunium, site of, 265
- Sacrifice, representation of, 27
- Saddle, part of, discovered at Wycomb, 104
- Saguntum, pottery from, 555, 556
- St. Edmondsbury, site of Villa Faustini, 429
- Salmon spear, discovered at Machynlleth, 407
- Salonina, coins of, discovered, 54, 394
- Samian Ware, origin and manufacture of, 547-568
- Samian ware discovered at Amotherby, 362; Bartlow Hills, 553; Bedford, 3; Bignor, 329; Caerleon, 224, 228; Canterbury, 142; Chester, 17; Chichester, 334; Comberton, 15; Dorchester, 54; Dover, 146; Exeter, 41, 42-43, 579; Folkestone, 139; Gloucester, 91-92; Keston, 148; London, 190, 192, 193, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 210, 216, 319, 321, 323, 324, 325, 553;

- Malton, 368; Manchester, 164
 Market Overton, 262; Newbury, 6;
 Newton Kyme, 420, 421; Reculvers,
 553; Upchurch, 550; Verulam, 394;
 Walesly, 181; Whitton, 318;
 Winchester, 125; Worcester, 358;
 Wroxeter, 273; Wycomb, 97, 100
 Sandals, discovered at Avisford, 328:
 at Densworth, 336
 —, leather, discovered in London,
 203
 —, wooden, discovered at Malton, 693
 Sarum, Old, site of Sorbiodoni, 468
 Saxon Shore, defences of, 67-71 304
 Saxons, attacks of the, 460
 Scameden, site of Cambodunum, 374,
 376
 Scarisbing (F. S.), on inscriptions at
 Plimpton Wall, 36-38
 Searth (H. M.), on destruction of
 Roman remains at Stanemore, 65-66;
 on inscription discovered at Bath,
 288-289
 Scoria, iron, discovered at Risingham,
 257
 Scotland, local discoveries in, 401-416
 Sculpture discovered at Bath, 284; at
 Coning-Garth, 32; at Manchester,
 164; at Wycomb, 97, 99, 100, 104
 — capital discovered at Market
 Overton, 262
 — figure of Diana discovered near
 Wansford, 244-245
 — pillars discovered at Cirencester,
 86, 89
 — stones, discovered at Wroxeter,
 267, 269, 270
 Seasons, represented on pavement at
 Bignor, 331
 Seaton, site of Moridunum at, 471-474
 578
 Sedburgh, site of Sigontio, 427
 Segeloci, site of, at Littleburgh, 429
 Segontiaci, capital of the, 447
 — submission of the, to Caesar, 544
 Segontio, site of, at Sedburgh, 427
 Septimius Geta, coins of, discovered, 257
 Severus coins of, discovered, 17
 Shaftesbury, site of Vindocladia, 468
 Sharnford Cottage, road passing near,
 305
 Shaw (Stebbing), on roads in Stafford-
 shire, 454-459
 Shears, iron, discovered at Eyc, 307
 Sheep, bones of, discovered at Glou-
 cester, 91
 Sherborne, site of Durnovaria, 468
 Shield, found in river Witham, 81
 —, brass, discovered at Caerhun,
 404
 — umbo of, discovered at Aldborough,
 358
 Ship, remains of, discovered at York,
 379
 Ships, British, action of, against Caesar,
 520, 524, 534
 Shoes, discovered near Port Talbot,
 407; at Southfleet, 159
 — leather, discovered at York, 379
 — see "Sandals"
 Shops, remains of, at Wroxeter, 280
 Shoreham, site of Portus Adurni, 460
 Shortt (Capt.), museum of, at Exeter, 41;
 on finds at Exeter, 578-579
 Shropshire, local discoveries in, 263-
 284
 Sickles, discovered at Bigberry, 141
 Sidmouth, station of Moridunum, near,
 474-482
 Signet, iron, discovered at York, 380
 Silchester, road from, to Staines, 438-
 448
 Silenus, representation of, on pavement,
 88
 Silver fibula at Penrith, 36
 — ornament, discovered at Butter-
 worth, 163
 — statue, found at London Bridge,
 212
 — stylus, discovered at Keston, 150
 Simpulum, discovered at New Cross,
 504
 Sitomagus, site of, at Dunwich, 434
 Skeletons, discovered, see "Burials"
 Skulls, relative thickness of, 48
 Slack, site of Cambodunum at, 372
 Slaves, chain for conducting, discovered
 at Horsefield, 94
 — iron collar on skeleton of, found
 near Dorchester, 55
 Slinfold, site of Clavinio, 461
 Smart (John) on roads in Northumber-
 land, 245-246
 Smith (C. Roach), on remains at Hod
 Hill, 59; on station at Bradwell, 67-
 71; on discoveries at Colchester, 74-
 76; on villa at Chedworth, 81-82;
 on discoveries at Andover, 107; on
 remains at Silchester, 119-121; at
 Winchester, 122-123; on remains at
 Comby, 131-132; on discoveries at
 Bigberry, 141; on discoveries at Gil-
 lingham, 161; on remains at Horton
 Kirby, 146; on discoveries at Milton,

- 154-156; on discoveries at Barrow-on-Soar, 166; on discoveries in London, 215; on discoveries at Caerleon, 229; on inscription at High Rochester, 247-249; on discoveries at Market Overton, 263; on discoveries at Wroxeter, 283-284; on discoveries at Baydon, 347; on importance of Old Sarum, 352; on discoveries at Amotherby, 362-363; at Gainford, 365, 366; on discoveries at Malton, 370; on discoveries at Slack, 375-376
- Smith (George), on inscribed altar at Burdoswald, 20-21; discoveries at Cast Steeds, 384-385; inscribed stone at Lannercost, 33
- Somersetshire, local discoveries in, 284-297, 592
- Sorbiodoni, site of, at Old Sarum, 468
- Southampton, site of Clausentum, near to, 432
- Spear, found at Blandford, 46; at Medbourn, 171
- Spear-ends, discovered at Glenalmond, 415
- Spear-head, discovered at Gloucester, 92; at Halford Bridge, 343
- bronze, discovered near Port Talbot, 407; at Winchester, 124
- iron, discovered at Kilham, 367; at Malton, 369; at Milton, 153; at Newbury, 446; near Pangbourn, 7; at Preston, 60; at Sawston, 16; at Spettisbury, 63; at Thrapston, 236; at Thong, 529; at Wycomb, 104
- Sphinx, discovered at Colchester, 75, 387-388; at Vork, 382
- Spickernell (William), on villa at Carisbrooke, 128-131
- Spinæ, site of, at Newbury, 445, 446
- Spindle whorl, discovered at Walesby, 181
- Spits, fulcrum of, discovered at Horsefield, 94
- Spoons, bronze, discovered at North Wraxhall, 355; at Whatley, 297
- silver, discovered at Reculver, 156
- Sporting groups figured on urns, 75
- Spurs, discovered near Pangbourn, 7
- Staff, ceremonial, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
- Stafford (J.), on inscription found at Leicester, 168
- Stafford, stations near, 498-499
- Staffordshire, local discoveries in, 297-303
- roads in, 454-459
- Stag, remains of, discovered at Bath, 287
- Staines, road from, to Silchester, 438-448
- Stamp of an oculist discovered at Wroxeter, 275
- Stanemore, threatened destruction of remains at, 64-66
- Stations and roads, 419-504
- Stations, sites of, 333
- of Armina, 45
- near Baydon, 346-347
- at Stanemore, 65-66
- Statue, discovered at Wroxeter, 276
- , feet of, found at Chelworth, 82
- , female figure found at Lulworth, 59
- copper discovered at Lee, 9
- , bronze, of Jupiter, discovered at Colchester, 74
- , terracotta, discovered at Colchester, 77
- Statuette, bronze, discovered at Wycomb, 97, 99, 100, 104
- Sted, origin of, in place names, 501
- Steele, Saxon origin of the place name, 258
- Steelyards, found at Market Overton, 263
- Still (Henry), on roadway through Londesborough, 467-469
- Stockade, wooden, discovered at Pipe Hill, 458-459
- Stone circle, near Port Talbot, 407
- cists or coffins discovered, *see* "Burials"
- quarry, at Robshaw Hole, 428; near Sutton, 428
- Stone Street, roadway so called near Bungay, 434; near Duncton, 339-340
- Stones, perforated, at Hod Hill, 58-59
- Storer (W. P.), on pottery, coins, etc., at Olney, 11
- Stothard (A. J.), on discoveries in London, 217-219
- Stour, the, formerly called Ensa, 435
- Stratford on the Stour, roadway from, 305
- , site of Ansam, 435
- Streets of Silchester, 118
- Stretton, site of Pennocrucium, 456, 499
- Stretton, villages called, 429

- Strigils, iron, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 —, metal gilt, discovered at Reculver, 156
 Stylus, discovered at Lancing Down, 341; in Southwark, 323; at Wroxeter, 273, 282; at Wycomb, 97, 100, 104
 —, ivory, discovered at Chester, 17
 —, silver, discovered at Keston, 150
 Stukeley (Dr.), on amphitheatre at Dorchester, 47; on discoveries at York, 377-378
 Suffolk, local discoveries in, 303-318
 Sul, or Solis, altars to, at Bath, 286
 Surrentinum, pottery from, 556
 Surrey, local discoveries in, 318-327
 —, roadways through, 437-438, 459-463
 Sussex, local discoveries in, 328-342
 —, roadways through, 436-437, 459-463
 Swords, discovered at Bewcastle, 20; at Halford Bridge, 343; at Lancing Down, 341; at Leatham, 415; at Littleton, 16; in London, 216; at Manchester, 163; at Margate, 153; at Market Overton, 263; at Milton, 153; at Preston, 60; at Sawston 16; at Spettisbury, 63; river Witham, 81
 Tacitus, coins of, discovered, 54, 110, 201, 376
 Tadcaster, site of Calcaria, 419, 422
 Tadworth, identified with Roman name, 401
 Taesborough, roadway from, 305
 Tailby (J.), on discoveries at Medbourn, 170-173
 Tankard, wooden, found on Bartlow Hills, 67
 Taylor (William), on discoveries in Southwark, 320-323
 Tedertis, site of, at Walton-upon-the-Hill, 461
 Temple, remains of, discovered at Bath, 284; near St. Saviour's Church, London, 321; at Plim Bridge, 45; at Wycomb, 99
 Tetricus, coins of, discovered, 54, 232, 289, 376, 394
 Thames, embankment of the, 502-504; at London, 320
 —, crossing of, by Cæsar at Cowey Stakes, 515, 520, 543
 —, fording of the, 432
 —, early navigation of, 487-488
 Thames, stakes discovered in, at Walton, 319
 Theodora, coins of, discovered, 103, 394
 Theodosius, coins of, discovered, 60, 103
 Theseus figured on pavement at Caerleon, 229
 Thimble-rig, antiquity of, 552, 557
 Thornborough, site of, at Cataractonem, 426
 Tiberius, coins of, discovered, 96, 163, 394
 Ticket, stone-piece used as, discovered in Wiltshire, 346
 Tides at time of Cæsar's invasion, 519
 Tile-kiln, discovered at Slack, 371-372
 Time of Cæsar's invasion, 515-520
 Tin handle, discovered at Wroxeter, 280
 Tiney, Round Hill, field so called at Wellow, 296
 Titus, coins of, discovered, 43, 73
 Toilet articles, discovered at Wycomb, 97, 100
 Toot Hill at Uttroter, 302
 Torques, bronze, discovered at Wycomb, 104
 Totnes, roadway from, 45
 Toulon, pottery kilns discovered at, 575-577
 Tower of London, legend as to building of, 551
 Trackways, British, line of, 470
 Tradesman's token of Colchester found in London, 199
 Tradition, confirmation of, 97
 — rhymes at Wroxeter, 268
 — of dragon at Bignor Hill, 339
 — of Roman city at Medbourn, 171
 — as to forming of roadway, 501
 Trajan, coins of, discovered, 16, 41, 43, 44, 122, 125, 163, 171, 175, 199, 307, 355, 394
 Tribes, British, 537, 538, 545-546
 Trinobantes, conquest of the, 487; situation of the, 528-529, 543
 Trivonam, site of, at Branstons, 45
 Tumble field, place so called, 500
 Tumulus at Banstead, 500; at Basingstoke, 439; Brimpton Common, 446; near Dorking, 501; near St. Briavels, 230; at Siretton, 456; near Warton, 467
 Tungri, cohort of, at Burnfoot, 413, 414
 Turma, meaning of, 413

- Tweezers, brass, discovered at Eye, 307
 Upchurch pottery, discovered at Wroxeter, 273
 Uriconium, site of, at Eccleshall, 425; at Wroxeter, 419
 Urns, burial, discovered at Aldborough, 358; Ashby Puerorum, 176; Aulcester, 342; Avisford, 328; Barnsby, 363; Barrow on Soar, 106; Bath, 288; Bartlow Hills, 67; Billericay, 67; Blandford, 46; Black Notley, 450; Braintree, 450-451; Brightmet Hill, 162; Bromham, 350; Caister, 232, 234-235, 498; Cambridge, 14; Caerhun, 404; Chelmsford, 72; Chichester, 334, 335; Cirencester, 389; Coddensham, 304, 305, 307; Coggeshall, 449; Colchester, 73, 74; Crendon, 9, 10; Densworth, 336; Desborough, 237; Dorchester, 49, 55, 56; Drewton Manor, 464; Exeter, 42, 387; Eye, 307-308; Ham East, 78; Hampstead, 183; Hemel Hempstead, 132; Higham Ferrers, 235; Hollingbourne, 146; Ickham, 147; Islip, 236; Kegworth, 167; Keston, 150; Kingsholm, 92, 93; Kingston, 167; Leeds, 423; Little Bowden, 237; Litlington, 15; London, 186, 187, 195, 196, 199, 200, 201, 211, 212; Malton, 369; Manchester, 163, 165; Milton, 154, 155; Milfield Hill, 251; Market Overton, 262; Newbury, 6; Ockenden, North, 80; Perton, 133-134; Radipole, 62-63; Royston, 134-135; Scarborough, 371; Shottenton Hill, 158; Sileby, 174; Slack, 373, 375; Stanfordsbury, 6; Stilton, 140; Stisted, 450, 451; Ternbridge, 265; Thornborough, 12; Walesby, 181; Wansford, 245; Water Newton, 140; Wickham Craux, 161; Winchester, 125; Wotton, 96; Wrattling, Great, 308; Wroxeter, 266, 283; York, 377, 379.
 Uvedale (Robert), on pavement at Louth, 94
 Uxucna, site of, at Okenyate, 425, 455
 Valens, coins of, discovered, 103, 126, 127, 175, 200, 355, 394, 453, 579
 Valentinian, coins of, discovered, 127, 175, 295, 307, 394
 Valerianus, coins of, discovered, 54, 257
 Vallum, wooden, discovered at Pipe Hill, 458-459
 Varis, site of, at Preston, 427
 Vases or bowls, discovered in Severn, 105-107
 —, bronze, discovered at Carlisle, 27; Exeter, 42; at Thornborough, 12 at Winchester, 125
 Venta Belgarum, site of, at Winchester, 432, 468
 Venta Icenorum, site of, at Caistor, 434; at Elmham, 497
 Venus, figured on pavement at Bignor, 331; at Bramdean, 110
 Vespasian, coins of, discovered, 14, 72, 93, 121, 122, 134, 203, 216, 290, 304, 307, 326, 334, 353, 360, 370, 378, 484, 579
 —, medallion of, 306
 Verlucio, site of, at Hedlington, 349-350; at Warminster, 354
 Verulam, destruction of theatre at, 153
 Victoria, coins of, discovered, 43
 Victorinus, coins of, discovered, 54, 192, 257, 376, 394
 Villas, discovered at, or near, Bath, 285; Bignor, 328-332; Blatchington, 332-333; Box, 347-348; Bramdean, 109-111; Bromham, 349-350; Buckingham, 7; Caerleon, 228; Castor, 239, 240, 241; Chedworth, 81; Chesterford, 72; Colchester, 73; Comberton, 14-15; Dalton Parlours, 419, 420; Droitwich, 356; Duncton, 337-338; Farley Castle, 289, 350; Fescote, 8; Folkesworth, 139; Gloucester, 92; Linley Hall, 264; Litlington, 16; Littleton, 289-290; Lyminge, 150-152; Milton, 154; Pitney, 291-292; Stainby, 180; Stonesfield, 261; Teynham, 159; Walesby, 180; Whatley, 297; Withington, 95; Wraxhall, North, 354-356
 Vindocladia, site of, at Shaftesbury, 468; at Wimborne, 472
 Vindomis, site of, 107; at Odiham, 433, 468
 Vine (Stephen), on roadway through Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, 436-438
 Virosidum, station of, 29
 Vomitories, at Caerleon, 223
 Voreda, station of, 29
 Wagborough Bush, place so called at Upper Slaughtier, 95
 Wales, local discoveries in, 401-408

- Wall, site of Etocetum, 456, 457
 Wall foundations, discovered at Burton, 343-345; at Castor, 497-498; at Chesters, 246; Housesteads, 251; at Colchester, 73; in Cumberland, 22; Gloucester, 580; at Leicester, 169-170; at Lincoln, 177, 179, 397; at London, 192, 197, 213, 219-222, 482-488; at Silchester, 117, 118; at Verulam, 395; at Wroxeter, 265-266, 267, 269, 277, 282-283; at York, 383
 Wall, church built on Roman, *see* "Churches"
 Wall paintings, *see* "Paintings"
 Wallbrook, the river, in London, 195
 Wallington, site of Noviomagus, 459-460
 Walker (J. K.), on discoveries at Slack, 372-375; at Thurston land, 376
 Walmer, landing of Caesar at, 536, 541
 Walton, Cowey Stakes at, 319
 —, site of Pontes, 432, 459
 Wandsworth, site of Onna, 462
 Wantage, roadway through, 447
 War Dyke, bank so called near Duncton, 340
 Warbank, place so called, 147
 Warne (C.), on discoveries at Preston, 60-62
 Warwickshire, local discoveries in, 342-343
 Watkins (W.), on Roman remains at Chichester, 335
 Watling Street, Edgeware Road so called, 207
 — near Nantwich, 431
 Waveney, valley of the, 435
 Weapons found at Blandford, 46; at Bray, 5; at Crendon, 9; at Pangbourn, 7; at Wibtoft, 174; *see* "Spears," "Swords"
 Weights, discovered at Bath, 285; at Wroxeter, 277
 Wellington (Duke of), on Roman remains at Silchester, 118
 Well, discovered at Aulcester, 343; at Burghead, 411; in London, 191, 202, 206, 398; at York, 383
 Westmoreland, local discoveries in, 343-345
 Wharfe, the, fordway across, 420, 428
 Wheel-tires, discovered at Bigberry, 141
 Whetstones, discovered at Wroxeter, 282
 Whishaw (Francis), on discoveries in the Severn, 105-107
 Whitaker (J.), on embankment of the Thames, 502-504
 Wickham Bushes, clump so called, 440, 441; site of Bilbracte, 448
 Wight (Isle of), discoveries in, 128-132, 596
 Wilkinson (Charles), inscription at Skinburness, 38-39
 Wiltshire, local discoveries in, 346-356
 Wimborn, site of Vindocladia, 472
 Winchester, site of Venta Belgarum, 432, 468
 Windows, glass, indications of, at Hlaseby, 177; at Wroxeter, 272
 Windsor Park, roadway through, 441
 Wire, bronze, discovered at Reculver, 156; at Milton, 153
 Wissant, site of Portus Itius, 507-515
 Wolsercestre, King of Mercia's seat at, 499; Roman camp at, 499
 Wooden barricade, discovered at Pipe Hill, 458-459
 — tankard, found on Bartlow Hills, 67
 Wool, comb for carding, discovered at Baydon, 347
 Worcestershire, local discoveries in, 356-358, 595
 Wren (Sir C.), discovery of amphitheatre at Dorchester by, 47
 Writtle, site of Cusaromago, 429
 Wroxeter, site of Bravinium, 419, 425, 426
 — site of Uriconium, 419
 Wyatt (James), remains at Bedford, 3-4
 York, iters from, 419
 —, roads to, 463-467
 —, walls of, preserved, 220
 Yorkshire, local discoveries in, 303, 358-384
 Zothea, portion of, found near Dorchester, 56



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